Edited by
Monika Bednarek and J. R. Martin

New Discourse on Language

Functional Perspectives on Multimodality, Identity, and Affiliation



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Contents

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Sumin Zhao is currently completing her PhD thesis on children's educational e-texts. As a part of an Australian Research Council Discovery Project, her research explores the dynamic relations between language and other semiotic recourses in hypermedia texts and the ways in which these resources are employed to construe the field of knowledge, primary history and social science in particular. She also publishes in school literacy, SFL and multimodal discourse analysis.


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Chapter 1

Semantic Variation – Modelling Realisation, Instantiation and Individuation in Social Semiosis

J. R. Martin

1 Social Semiosis

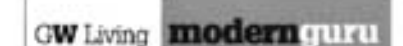
In the second half of the twentieth century, the major challenge addressed by functional linguistics lay in modelling language and attendant modes of communication as meaning making resources. Thanks to powerful pioneering work by Halliday and Matthiessen (e.g. 1999, 2004) for language, and Kress and van Leeuwen for images (1996/2006), the new generation of twenty-first century scholars represented in this book has been able to develop fresh perspectives on ways in which these resources are used – both from the perspective of variation between texts (what semiotic resources are used to do) and variation among speakers (how semiotic resources are used to negotiate identity). This chapter is concerned with developing the general theoretical framework informing this research.

It begins by reviewing some of the key concepts developed by systemic functional linguistics for modelling system as a resource for meaning – realisation, rank, metafunction and axis. It then considers the complementary hierarchy of instantiation, which relates system to instances of use, recontextualizing work on register and genre and introducing the concepts of coupling and commitment as tools for exploring multimodality in relation to functional variation among texts. It then turns to the complementary hierarchy of individuation, which relates system to repertoires of use, reviewing work on coding orientation and introducing the concepts of bonding and iconization as tools for exploring affiliation. Finally it turns to genesis, semantic variation over time, reviewing work on phylogenesis (evolution of the system), ontogenesis (development of repertoires) and logogenesis (unfolding instances of use). As each chapter in this volume illustrates, the resources deployed, the texts through which they are instantiated and the identities those texts construe have all to be kept in focus as our social perspective on semiosis evolves. As ever in functional linguistics and semiotics, the key to wrestling with the edge of knowledge is to sustain a multi-perspectival stance in which theory deploys complementarities to illuminate

our object of study – so we can observe the humanity of our communication processes, not just their form.

The examples used to illustrate the general theoretical model will be drawn as far as possible from the following text, which appeared in the GW Living section of *The Sydney Morning Herald*'s weekly *Good Weekend* magazine, on 15 November 2008 (Katz 2008). It is from a regular 'agony aunt' column (Thibault 1988) entitled 'Modern Guru' in which, at the time of writing, Danny Katz alternates with Kate Duthie spoofing the genre, whimsically responding to readers' questions about '21st-century ethics, etiquette and dilemmas' (Plate 1.1 below).

> Testing Times: how to handle one mark too many
>
> I am 16 years old and still at school. Recently I got an exam back and the teacher had added up my scores incorrectly and given me an extra mark. Should I have told her about the mistake, or just kept the extra mark?
>
> E. B., Pymble, NSW
>
> Ask just about any schoolkid and here's what they'd probably say: 'Nawwwww, keep that extra mark coz, like, the teacher totally stuffed up, y'know, specially if it was, like, a maths test and she added up wrong, haw haw, that'd be, like hilarical' – and, by the way, this is how all schoolkids talk; I know, I've snuck peeks at my own kids' msn messages, until they blocked me out using the parental control filter. Apparently it can also filter out controlling parents.



Danny Katz answers readers' questions about 21st-century ethics, etiquette and dilemmas.



Testing times: how to handle one mark too many

I am 16 years old and still at school. Recently I got an exam back and the teacher had added up my scores incorrectly and given me an extra mark. Should I have told her about the mistake, or just kept the extra mark?

E.B., Pymble, NSW

Ask just about any schoolkid and here's what they'd probably say: "Nawwwww, keep that extra mark coz, like, the teacher totally stuffed up, y'know, specially if it was, like, a maths test and she added up wrong, haw haw, that'd be, like, hilarical" – and by the way, this is how all schoolkids talk; I know, I've snuck peeks at my own kids' msn messages, until they blocked me out using the parental control filter. Apparently it can also filter out controlling parents. But ask just about any schoolteacher and here's what they'd probably say: "You caddish little rotter! By pilfering that extra point, not only are you behaving reprehensibly, but you are failing to recognise your true scholastic abilities, which could lead to ongoing exam failures, resulting in a botched education, culminating in a life of destitution at a Dickensian workhouse, blacking boots for Mr Bumble!" – and by the way, that's how I imagine all schoolteachers talk, and they all wear mortarboards and black gowns, and look like old wire-moustached Latin masters as drawn by Ronald Searle.

But ask the rest of us, and we'd probably go a bit both ways, because sometimes life throws you lovely little windfalls that you should be able to enjoy without guilt – that extra mark on an exam paper, that accidental $10 from a faulty ATM, that unexpected meatball in your turkey-breast sub, these are some of the great moments of life and should be cherished. But at the same time, there are rules when it comes to windfalling: your lucky little bonus must be small enough so that nobody gets hurt, small enough so you can enjoy it without a heavy conscience, and most importantly, small enough so you can feign ignorance if you get caught. Which is why I propose a Universal Fortuitous Windfall Cut-Off Point before a person needs to advise the relevant authorities – and that cut-off point is three. You're allowed up to three extra marks on an exam paper before telling the teacher. Up to three $10 notes from a faulty ATM before returning the cash to the bank. And up to three unasked-for meatballs on a non-meatball sub before you yell at the Subway girl.

My good manners are automatic – but what if the doors are, too?

I was brought up to open doors for ladies. In this modern age of automatic doors, should I activate the doors, then stand aside for the lady?

R.N., Hoppers Crossing, Vic

Old-fashioned chivalry is hard enough these days just with an old-fashioned door: when a man opens a hinged door for a woman, it gets extremely confusing – he'll hold it open half-heartedly because he's not sure if the woman will be offended, then the woman will hesitate because she's not sure if he's opening it for her or not, then he'll step through the door because he thinks she wants him to go first while continuing to hold the door open just in case, then she'll follow him through the door but his outstretched arm is now blocking the doorway so she has to duck to get under, then he'll accidentally bang her head with his elbow and say "whoopsie" with a sheepish smile, then they'll both squeeze through the doorway and hurry off in opposite directions silently vowing never to walk through another door again.

So if hinged doors are this courtesy-complicated, automatic doors are courtesy-impossible: if you activate the automatic door and then stand aside for a woman, the door will instantly close again and she'll have to activate it herself, so you haven't really helped at all – you're just a middle-aged goon standing to one side, grinning dementedly. So don't worry about automatic doors, they have built-in chivalry – just walk straight through, it's easier for everyone. And meantime, all us men eagerly await the invention of the Automatic Chair-Puller-Outer and the Automatic Dinner/Movie/Taxi Price-Splitter. GW

Dear Guru... Send your questions (maximum 80 words) to: Modern Guru, Good Weekend, GPO Box 506, Sydney, 2001. Fax: (02) 9282 1628. Email: guru@fairfax.com.au. Please include your initials, suburb and home state.

Plate 1.1 GW Living Modern Guru column (15 November 2008)

But just ask about any schoolteacher and here's what they'd probably say: 'You caddish little rotter! By pilfering that extra point, not only are you behaving reprehensibly, but you are failing to recognise your true scholastic abilities, which could lead to ongoing exam failures, resulting in a botched education, culminating in a life of destitution at a Dickensian workhouse, blacking boots for Mr Bumble!' – and by the way, that's how I imagine all school teachers talk, and they all wear mortarboards and black gowns, and look like old wire-moustached Latin masters as drawn by Ronald Searle.

But ask the rest of us, and we'd probably go a bit both ways, because sometimes life throws you lovely little windfalls that you should be able to enjoy without guilt – that extra mark on an exam paper, that accidental $10 from a faulty ATM, that unexpected meatball in your turkey-breast sub, these are some of the great moments of life and should be cherished. But at the same time, there are rules when it comes to windfalling: your lucky little bonus must be small enough that nobody gets hurt, small enough so you can enjoy it without a heavy conscience, and most importantly, small enough so you can feign ignorance if you get caught. Which is why I propose a Universal Fortuitous Windfall Cut-Off Point before a person needs to advise the relevant authorities – and that cut-off point is three. You're allowed up to three extra marks on an exam paper before telling the teacher. Up to three $10 notes from a faulty ATM before returning the cash to the bank. And up to three unasked-for meatballs on a non-meatball sub before you yell at the Subway girl.

2 Realisation

2.1 Realisation and stratification

It is one of the great paradoxes of semiosis that although language and other semiotic systems continually draw attention to themselves, we overwhelmingly overlook the complexity of their structuration – unless specifically trained to bring it to consciousness. The Modern Guru, for example, foregrounds the phonology of spoken language in its 'colloquial spelling' of an imagined schoolkid's reply:

> '*Nawwwww,* keep that extra mark *coz,* like, the teacher totally stuffed up, *y'know, specially* if it was, like, a maths test and she added up wrong, *haw haw, that'd* be, like *hilarical*' –

The quotation draws attention to the tension between the way English is written and the way it is spoken – the idealized graphological patterns of our writing system in relation to the phonological patterns of oral communication (Halliday 1985/1989).

Similarly the grammatical parallelism featured in this column regularly rehearses the grammatical structure of English nominal groups and clauses.

The Guru offers a triplet of identically structured windfalls, foregrounding the structure of things:

> because sometimes life throws you lovely little windfalls that you should be able to enjoy without guilt –
> that extra mark on an exam paper,
> that accidental $10 from a faulty ATM,
> that unexpected meatball in your turkey-breast sub,

And another triplet, this time of non-finite dependent clauses, foregrounds causally connected processes:

> but you are failing to recognise your true scholastic abilities, which could lead to ongoing exam failures,
> resulting in a botched education,
> culminating in a life of destitution at a Dickensian workhouse,
> blacking boots for Mr Bumble!

Pushing further, the Guru's rhetorical parallelism is not just 'grammatical'. His proposal for a 'Universal Fortuitous Windfall Cut-Off Point' is exemplified across sentence boundaries (beyond grammar as it were, at the level of discourse semantics):

> You're allowed
> up to three extra marks on an exam paper before telling the teacher.
> Up to three $10 notes from a faulty ATM before returning the cash to the bank.
> And up to three unasked-for meatballs on a non-meatball sub before you yell at the Subway girl.

And his tour of alternative perspectives on the moral issue here is organized by parallel suggestions dividing the rationale for his advice as a whole into three parts:

> Ask just about any schoolkid and here's what they'd probably say:
> . . .
> But just ask about any schoolteacher and here's what they'd probably say:
> . . .
> But ask the rest of us, and we'd probably go a bit both ways:
> . . .

Putting this more technically, what is being foregrounded by the Guru here are the different levels of organization characterizing linguistic systems as they

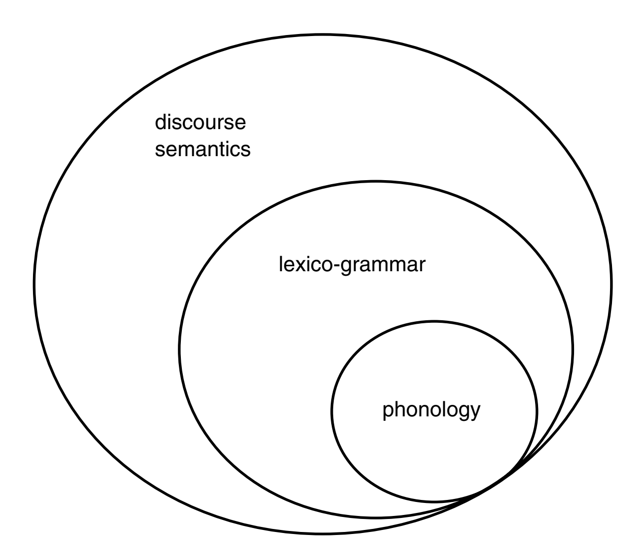


FIGURE 1.1 Levels of language: phonology/lexicogrammar/discourse semantics

have evolved in our species – phonology (graphology if we are writing), lexicogrammar (words and structures), and discourse semantics (the organization of texts). In systemic functional linguistics (hereafter SFL), these levels of language are commonly modelled as metaredundant strata, metaphorically visualized in diagrams such as that in Figure 1.1, and referred to as *stratification.* Metaredundancy in this context refers to the way in which the model interprets lexicogrammar as an emergently complex pattern of phonological patterns, and discourse semantics as an emergently complex pattern of lexicogrammatical patterns. Technically, this relationship across levels of abstraction from phonic substance is referred to as realisation. For the past six decades, SFL research has concentrated on these strata; in this book we rely in particular on the work compiled in Caffarel *et al.* 2004 (language typology), Halliday and Greaves 2008 (phonology), Halliday and Matthiessen 2004 (lexicogrammar) and Martin and Rose 2003/2007 (discourse semantics).

2.2 Syntagmatic and paradigmatic structure

As with any model of language, the nature of our gaze depends on the weight given to specific theoretical parameters, and the representational resources designed to formalize them. In the development of SFL as a metalanguage, paradigmatic patterning has been privileged (see also Bednarek *this volume*), particularly in relation to work on grammar. This enables and constrains the linguistic organization the theory brings to consciousness, and needs to be carefully considered here.

The advice column opens as follows, presented here divided into clauses and with clause ellipses of the kind specified in Halliday and Hasan's (1976) work on cohesion filled in (indicated by brackets below):

I am 16 years old and still at school.
Recently I got an exam back
and the teacher had added up my scores incorrectly
and (the teacher had) given me an extra mark.

Should I have told her about the mistake,
or (should I have) just kept the extra mark?

Ask just about any schoolkid
and here's what they'd probably say:
'Nawwwww (you shouldn't have told her),
keep that extra mark
coz, like, the teacher totally stuffed up, y'know,
specially if it was, like, a maths test
and she added up wrong, haw haw,
that'd be, like hilarical'

From a paradigmatic perspective we can ask questions about this series which focus on the speech function of various clauses (how they position interlocutors in conversation). Are they negotiating good services or information? Are they giving or demanding such? And then, grammatically speaking, how do we know (Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 108)?

Of these clauses, nine give information:

I am 16 years old and still at school.
Recently *I got* an exam back
and *the teacher had* added up my scores incorrectly
and (*the teacher had*) given me an extra mark.
and *here's* what they'd probably say:
coz, like, *the teacher* totally *stuffed* up, y'know,
specially if *it was*, like, a maths test
and *she added* up wrong, haw haw,
that'd be, like hilarical

Three demand information:

Should I have told her about the mistake,
or (*should I* have) just kept the extra mark?

And two demand goods and services:

Ask just about any schoolkid
keep that extra mark

As speakers of English we know this, in part, because of the grammar involved. In the clauses giving information, the Subject comes before the first verb (*I am, I got, the teacher had, here's,*[1] *you shouldn't, the teacher stuffed, it was, she added, that'd*); in the clauses demanding information, the Subject comes after a first verb (*should I*); in the clauses demanding goods and services the Subject is implicit[2] and the clause begins with the verb (*ask, keep*). The clauses which give or demand information resemble each other in that they contain a Subject, and differ from clauses demanding goods and services which simply imply one.

Halliday and Matthiessen (2004) refer to the part of the verbal group which changes position with the Subject to distinguish negotiating information from negotiating goods and services as *Finite*, and the rest of the verbal group as *Predicator*. In SFL these functional labels for parts of the English clause are modelled as deriving from features in choice networks underlying them – syntagmatic relations are derived from paradigmatic ones in other words. This perspective is formalized in system networks and realisation rules, such as that outlined in Figure 1.2 below. In the network square brackets stand for 'or' and downward slanting arrows show the contribution choices make to chain relations; '+' stands for the insertion of a function label, '^' for its sequencing. Traditional grammatical labels for mood classes have been deployed (indicative, imperative, declarative, interrogative).

From a paradigmatic perspective we can also ask questions about this series of clauses which focus on the kinds of process and participants involved (how the clauses build a picture of what is going on) – are they construing physical activity, are they referring to communication, or are they proposing relationships among things?

Seven of the clauses build activity – what the teacher did and what the student should do:

Recently I *got* an exam *back*
and the teacher had *added* up my scores incorrectly
and (the teacher had) *given* me an extra mark.

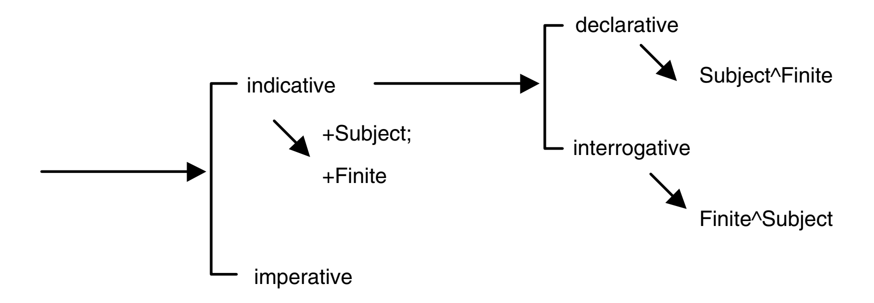


Figure 1.2 Paradigmatic choices for mood in relation to syntagmatic structure

or (should I have) just *kept* the extra mark?
keep that extra mark
coz, like, the teacher totally *stuffed up*, y'know,
and she *added up* wrong, haw haw,

Four relay imagined conversation, referring metalinguistically to what might be said:

Should I have *told* her about the mistake,
Ask just about any schoolkid
and here's what they'd probably *say*:
Nawwwww (you shouldn't have *told* her),

And three involve classification, evaluation and identification of people, things and bits of text:

I *am* 16 years old and still at school.
and here'*s* what they'd probably say:
specially if it *was*, like, a maths test
that'd *be*, like hilarical

As with speech function, these choices can be modelled in system networks with structural consequences specified for choices of particular kinds. And the choices for construing experience combine freely with choices for mood. The declarative clauses reviewed above for example classify, report activity, identify and talk about talk (*I* ***am*** *16 years old and still at school*; *Recently I* ***got*** *an exam back*; *and here's what they'd probably* ***say***). And the interrogatives and imperatives construe both activity and talk (*Should I have* ***told*** *her about the mistake, or (should I have) just* ***kept*** *the extra mark?*; ***Ask*** *just about any schoolkid*; *Nawwwww,* ***keep*** *that extra mark*).

Thus, the two sets of choices we are considering can be seen to cross-classify one another. Clauses can be considered from either point of view – since we talk **with** one another **about** something. This principle of cross-classification in system networks is outlined in Figure 1.3, using Halliday and Matthiessen's (2004) terms for process type – material, verbal, relational. The brace, a logical 'and', signals that both systems must be entered and an option chosen (not necessarily consciously). The syntagmatic consequences of choices for process type have not been spelled out in this network. Cross-classification of this order is what has given rise to SFL's conception of metafunction – ideational, interpersonal and textual. As we have seen above, ideational meanings focus on what is going on, while interpersonal meanings enable interaction. As far as paradigmatic relations are concerned, the metafunctions are glosses on the degree to which systems do and don't cluster into

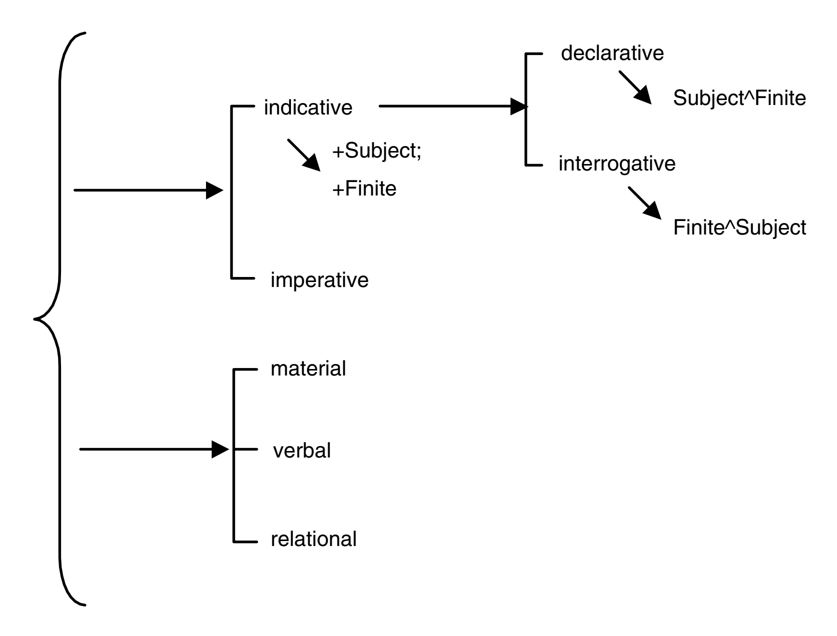


FIGURE 1.3 Cross-classifying clauses for mood and process type

groups of interdependent choices, especially as far as clause grammar in concerned.

The third clustering of clause systems, the textual, has to do with the way in which information in distributed to orient reader/listeners and highlight new information. Drawing once again on the Modern Guru's parallelism, we can exemplify information flow by considering the conditions he places on retaining a windfall. These are that it is small enough that . . .

> nobody gets hurt,
> you can enjoy it without a heavy conscience
> you can feign ignorance
> if you get caught

The conditions are proposed for the people involved in the windfall. Accordingly each clause places this information in first position (as *Theme*), which is how English takes up an angle on its subject matter (or field). And the conditions are about avoiding harm, which is the focus of the end of each clause, where English likes to elaborate its news (as *New*). Like all languages, English deploys a range of grammatical resources for distributing information, including voice.

Table 1.1 Information flow (textual meaning)

Theme	**(maximized) New**[a]
nobody	(gets) hurt
you	(can enjoy it) without a heavy conscience
you	(can feign) ignorance
you	(get) caught

[a] New is actually signalled by intonation, not sequence – by the major pitch movement in an English tone group (Halliday and Greaves 2008). Minimal New includes the clause constituent whose final salient syllable (the tonic) carries this movement; maximal New extends leftwards from there (in parentheses in Table 1.1), and has to be demarcated in relation to co-text.

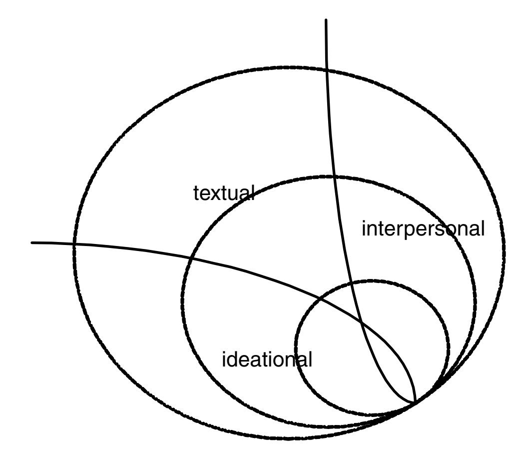


Figure 1.4 Types of meaning (metafunction) and levels of abstraction (strata) in SFL

Two of the clauses in Table 1.1 are passive (*nobody gets hurt, you get caught*), in order to achieve the consistency of information flow (people as *Theme,* avoiding harm as *New*) the Modern Guru's tripling trope requires.

The point of this discussion of the privileging of paradigmatic relations is to illustrate the way in which metafunctional complementarity adds dimensionality to realisational hierarchy in SFL – the metafunctions in other words provide an additional perspective on meanings that are organized realisationally as layers of abstraction. Each stratum of realisation is explored from the perspective of three types of meaning and their effect on paradigmatic clustering (and the kinds of structure[3] manifesting meaning of different kinds). A crude representation of the interplay of realisation and metafunction is outlined in Figure 1.4 above.

Alongside clustering into metafunctions, systems of choice formalizing paradigmatic relations also group together with respect to part/whole (constituency) relations on a given stratum. The Subject function realizing mood for example can be realized by nominal groups of various kinds – typically a single word (*I* below) or Deictic^Thing (*the teacher*) structure in the text we're considering here:

Recently *I* got an exam back
and *the teacher* had added up my scores incorrectly

These variations (and there are many more) are available for Subjects in declarative and interrogative clauses, across process types; so rather than specify the various possibilities for each type of clause, grammarians generalize them for a smaller unit – the nominal group. In doing so they establish a constituency hierarchy referred to as rank, the units along which act as points of origin for system networks. The usual ranks deployed in SFL work on English grammar comprise clause, group/phrase, word and morpheme; for English phonology the ranks are tone group, foot, syllable and phoneme. Like realisation, rank is a hierarchy, but a hierarchy of composition rather than abstraction. The interplay of realisation, metafunction and rank is outlined in Figure 1.5.[4]

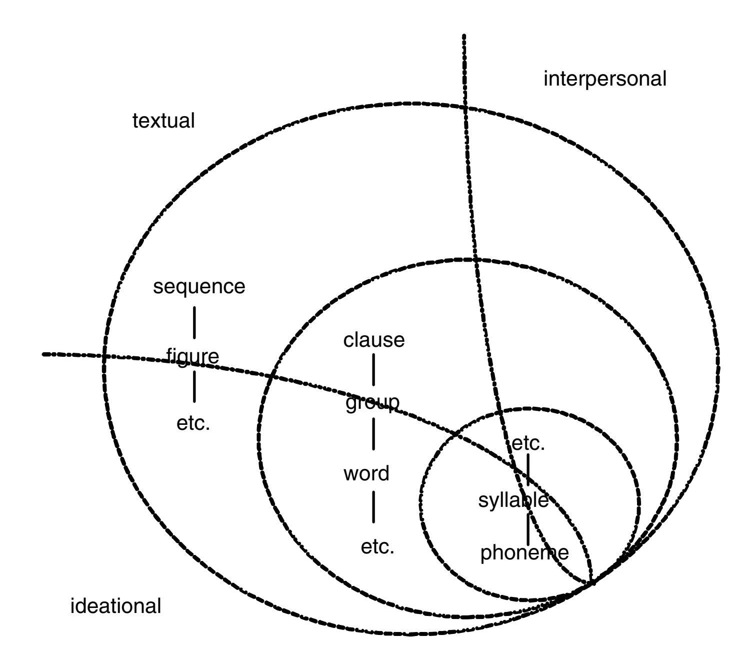


FIGURE 1.5 Rank in relation to stratification and metafunction

2.3 Social context: register and genre

Before closing our brief introduction to realisation, we need to take two more steps. The first is to add a further layer of stratification building social context into the model. This involves using metafunction to scaffold our model of the social work ideational, interpersonal and textual meaning are deployed to do, with ideational meaning building *field*, interpersonal meaning negotiating *tenor* and textual meaning texturing these meanings in relation to *mode*.

Field is concerned with institutional activity – our participation in domestic, recreational, devotional, governmental and professional life. This Modern Guru column deals principally with education, so there is a rich co-patterning of lexis dealing with participants and processes in that field.

> Testing Times: how to handle one *mark* too many
>
> I am 16 years old and still at *school*. Recently I got an *exam* back and the *teacher* had *added up* my *scores* incorrectly and given me an extra *mark*. Should I have told her about the mistake, or just kept the extra *mark*? . . . Ask just about any *schoolkid* and here's what they'd probably say: 'Nawwwww, keep that extra *mark* coz, like, the *teacher* totally stuffed up, y'know, specially if it was, like, a *maths test* and she *added up wrong*, haw haw, that'd be, like hilarical' – and, by the way, this is how all *schoolkids* talk; . . . But just ask about any *schoolteacher* and here's what they'd probably say: 'You caddish little rotter! By pilfering that *extra point*, not only are you *behaving* reprehensibly, but you are failing to recognise your true *scholastic abilities*, which could lead to ongoing *exam failures*, resulting in a botched *education* . . . – and by the way, that's how I imagine all *schoolteachers* talk, and they all wear *mortarboards* and *black gowns*, and look like old wire-moustached *Latin masters* as drawn by Ronald Searle . . . – that *extra mark* on an *exam paper* . . . You're allowed up to three *extra marks* on an *exam paper* before telling the teacher . . .'

Four other fields are more sketchily constituted: electronic communication (e.g. *msn messages*; *parental control filter*; *it can also filter out*), the nineteenth century British workhouse (e.g. *destitution at a Dickensian workhouse*; *blacking boots*), contemporary banking (e.g. *$10*; *ATM*; *$10 notes*; *cash*; *bank*) and fast food (e.g. *meatball in your turkey-breast sub*; *meatballs on a non-meatball sub*; *the Subway girl*).

Tenor is concerned with social positioning – our status in relation to one another, and our degree of affinity (power and solidarity are they are typically termed). These social relations are strongly foregrounded in the contrast the Guru sets up between how schoolkids talk to one another (equal status, close friends) and how teachers talk to them (unequal status, collegial contact).

> Ask just about any schoolkid and here's what they'd probably say: 'Nawwwww, keep that extra mark coz, like, the teacher totally stuffed up, y'know, specially

> if it was, like, a maths test and she added up wrong, haw haw, that'd be, like hilarical' – and, by the way, this is how all schoolkids talk.
>
> But just ask about any schoolteacher and here's what they'd probably say: 'You caddish little rotter! By pilfering that extra point, not only are you behaving reprehensibly, but you are failing to recognise your true scholastic abilities, which could lead to ongoing exam failures, resulting in a botched education, culminating in a life of destitution at a Dickensian workhouse, blacking boots for Mr Bumble!' – and by the way, that's how I imagine all schoolteachers talk,

The quoted speech in these examples also strongly implicates mode, since schoolkids talk spoken English and schoolteachers talk like books (Halliday 2008). So kids mean what they say and say what they mean, with processes realized as verbs (*keep, stuffed up, added up*), qualities as adjective (*hilarical*) and logical connections as conjunctions (*coz, if, and*); for teachers the relation between meaning and wording is less direct (Zhu 2008), with processes and qualities regularly textured as nouns (*abilities, failures, destitution*) and logical relations as verbs (*lead, resulting, culminating*).

This metaredundant stratum of social context is added to the model in Figure 1.6, which displays the metafunctional proportions outlined above – with field a co-patterning of ideational meanings, tenor a co-patterning of interpersonal meanings and mode a texturing of these patterns in relation to

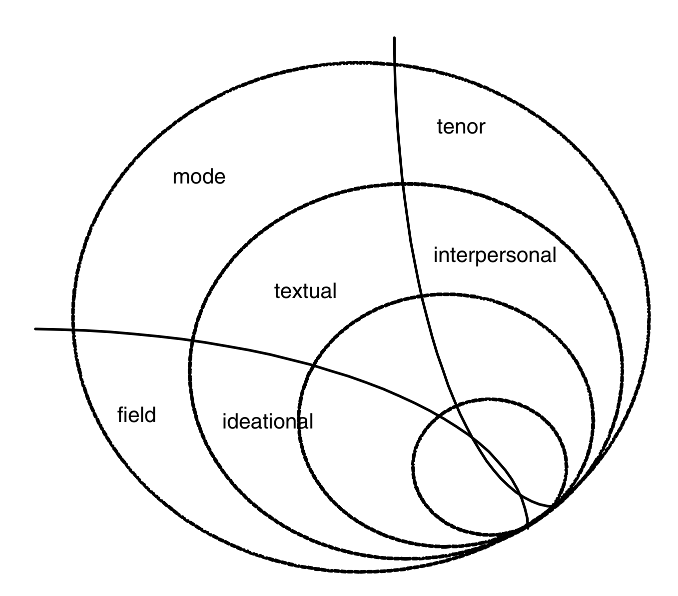


Figure 1.6 The metafunctional organization of language in relation to social context

the channel of communication (face to face, written or electronic) and the role language is playing alongside (or not) other modalities of communication (relatively accompanying or constitutive, and if constitutive, then relatively congruent or abstract). Following Martin (1992) we'll refer to this stratum as register (the collective term for field, tenor and mode systems).

The final step we need to take as far as realisation is concerned is to further contextualize our model of social context in relation to genre. Readers will no doubt have noticed during our discussion of field that one dimension of the institutional activities implicated in the Modern Guru text was postponed – namely the 'agony aunt' discourse reflected in the text's concern with ethics and etiquette, including its question-answer format and modulated proposals.

> Modern Guru
> Danny Katz answers readers' questions about 21st-century ethics, etiquette and dilemmas.
>
> Testing Times: how to handle one mark too many
>
> . . . Should I have told her about the mistake, or just kept the extra mark?
>
> . . . But at the same time, there are rules when it comes to windfalling: your lucky little bonus must be small enough that nobody gets hurt, small enough so you can enjoy it without a heavy conscience, and most importantly, small enough so you can feign ignorance if you get caught. Which is why I propose a Universal Fortuitous Windfall Cut-Off Point before a person needs to advise the relevant authorities – and that cut-off point is three. You're allowed up to three extra marks on an exam paper before telling the teacher. Up to three $10 notes from a faulty ATM before returning the cash to the bank. And up to three unasked-for meatballs on a non-meatball sub before you yell at the Subway girl.

This dimension of field is unlike the others in that it is more responsible for the organization of the text as a whole. The Modern Guru is dealing with the consequences of writing a test in school here, not those of sending msn messages, getting money out of an ATM or ordering food at Subway – and he's offering advice in general about how to behave in relation to fortuitous windfalls. This social purpose in effect transcends the others, and in doing so affects all metafunctions, coordinating them as a staged goal-oriented social process that we recognize as genre. This genre has been explored by Thibault (1988) and will not be canvassed in detail here. In terms of staging the text has a Question/problem followed by Answer/solution structure. The Answer/solution can be divided into Rationale and Advice. This Rationale explores one extreme position on the issue, then another, before coming down in between; it is doubtful this phasing strategy can be generalized to the genre as a whole and so will not be labelled here (for discussion of stages and phases in genre analysis see Martin and Rose 2008).

Question/problem

I am 16 years old and still at school. Recently I got an exam back and the teacher had added up my scores incorrectly and given me an extra mark. Should I have told her about the mistake, or just kept the extra mark?

Answer/solution

Rationale

Ask just about any schoolkid and here's what they'd probably say: 'Nawwwww, keep that extra mark coz, like, the teacher totally stuffed up, y'know, specially if it was, like, a maths test and she added up wrong, haw haw, that'd be, like hilarical'

– and, by the way, this is how all schoolkids talk; I know, I've snuck peeks at my own kids' msn messages, until they blocked me out using the parental control filter. Apparently it can also filter out controlling parents.

But just ask about any schoolteacher and here's what they'd probably say: 'You caddish little rotter! By pilfering that extra point, not only are you behaving reprehensibly, but you are failing to recognise your true scholastic abilities, which could lead to ongoing exam failures, resulting in a botched education, culminating in a life of destitution at a Dickensian workhouse, blacking boots for Mr Bumble!'

– and by the way, that's how I imagine all school teachers talk, and they all wear mortarboards and black gowns, and look like old wire-moustached Latin masters as drawn by Ronald Searle.

But ask the rest of us, and we'd probably go a bit both ways,

because sometimes life throws you lovely little windfalls that you should be able to enjoy without guilt – that extra mark on an exam paper, that accidental $10 from a faulty ATM, that unexpected meatball in your turkey-breast sub, these are some of the great moments of life and should be cherished.

But at the same time, there are rules when it comes to windfalling: your lucky little bonus must be small enough that nobody gets hurt, small enough so you can enjoy it without a heavy conscience, and most importantly, small enough so you can feign ignorance if you get caught.

Advice

Which is why I propose a Universal Fortuitous Windfall Cut-Off Point before a person needs to advise the relevant authorities – and that cut-off point is three. You're allowed up to three extra marks on an exam paper before

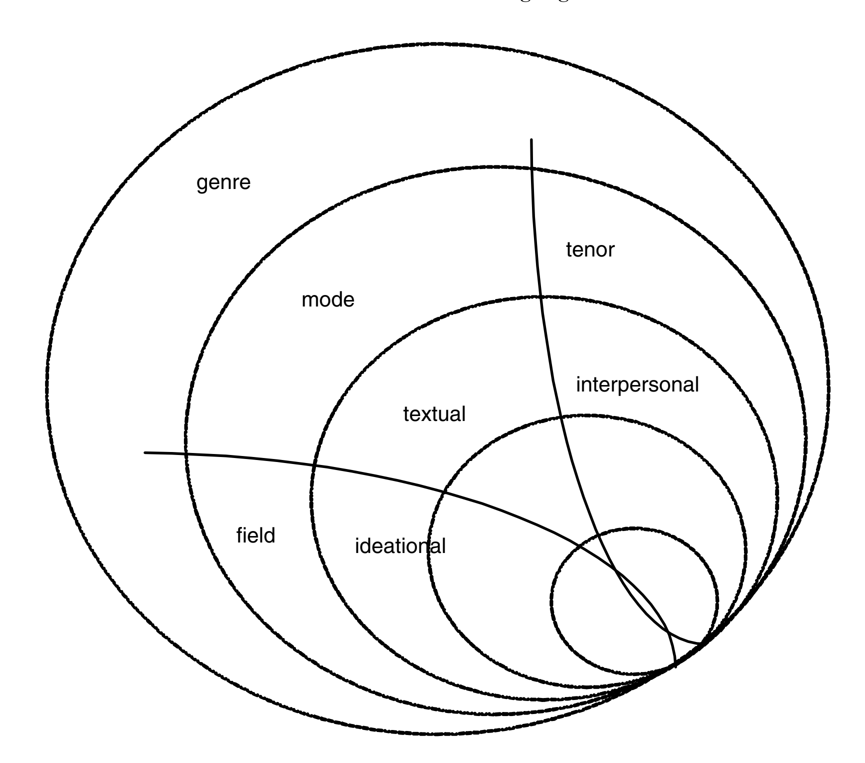


Figure 1.7 Language in relation to a stratified model of social context (as register and genre)

telling the teacher. Up to three $10 notes from a faulty ATM before returning the cash to the bank. And up to three unasked-for meatballs on a non-meatball sub before you yell at the Subway girl.

This model of language and social context as a metaredundant realisation hierarchy is summarized in Figure 1.7. and scaffolds the papers presented in this volume. As far as genre is concerned, not all SFL scholars recognize a level of emergent complexity (an additional stratum in other words) beyond field, tenor and mode (e.g. Hasan 2009). For a deployment of the stratified model of language and of social context proposed here in text analysis see Martin (2009).

3 Instantiation

Australian cricketing legend Don Bradman completed his international career with a batting average of 99, roughly twice as high as that of any other batsman (arguably comparable to a career batting average of 700 in baseball, or scoring

on average 80 goals a year in ice hockey). This is a stunning achievement, accumulated over 80 innings in 52 tests, and stimulates discussion, at least in the cricket-playing universe, about whether Bradman was the greatest athlete of all time. But such is the fascination with statistics in that world that fans cannot help wishing he'd managed 100; and so attention often turns to his last innings, when this seemed well within his grasp. He needed only four runs, but was deceived by Eric Hollies' wrist spin and bowled between bat and pad second ball for a duck (i.e. no score). Bradman went in with an average of 101.4, 101.39 to be more precise; and he was out for an average of 99.9, 99.94 to be more precise (after two decimal places cricket statisticians seem to stop counting – like humans in general as *Star Trek*'s android Data has often observed). Of course every run he scored in his career affected Bradman's average; but not scoring those four runs at that moment is probably the most talked about innings of his entire career and an incident replayed time and again from archival footage.

What this story highlights is that cricket fans have an interest in the game that engages with multiple realms of time – an interest in what happened at a particular moment, or in an over, or in an innings, or in a match, or in a series, or in a year, or in a dynasty, or in an era, or in cricket in general for as long as it has been played. And there are statistics for every dimension of the game covering most of these depths of time to be sure. What matters, in other words, is both particular instances of play and recurring behaviour (both weather and climate as this is commonly phrased). Similarly, functional linguists are interested in both individual texts and the systems from which they derive (text **and** language, process **and** system, parole **and** langue in other terms).

In SFL the cline relating system and text is termed *instantiation*. Unlike realisation, which is a hierarchy of abstraction, instantiation is a hierarchy of generality. It relates the systems of meanings as a whole to their specialization as registers and genres; at the same time, it generalizes recurring patterns of meaning across instances as text types.[5] From the perspective of critical theory, an additional step can be taken along this cline, since texts themselves can be interpreted as potentials; they afford readings of different kinds according to the social subjectivity of their consumers. Overall, what we are looking at is a scale of potentiality – we're considering all of the meanings a semiotic system allows in relation to their sub-potentialization as instances of language use (Bradman's batting average in other words relation to his shots and the way an umpire adjudicated them as runs or not). A crude outline of this scale is presented as Figure 1.8.

One way to highlight the theoretical difference between realisation and instantiation is to reconsider the place of register and genre on each hierarchy. Because genre is a pattern of field, mode and tenor patterns, it sits at the top of the realisation scale, at its highest level of abstraction. But because every genre deploys a specific recurrent configuration of meanings they have to be positioned as a sub-potential of system, one notch down, on the instantiation scale.

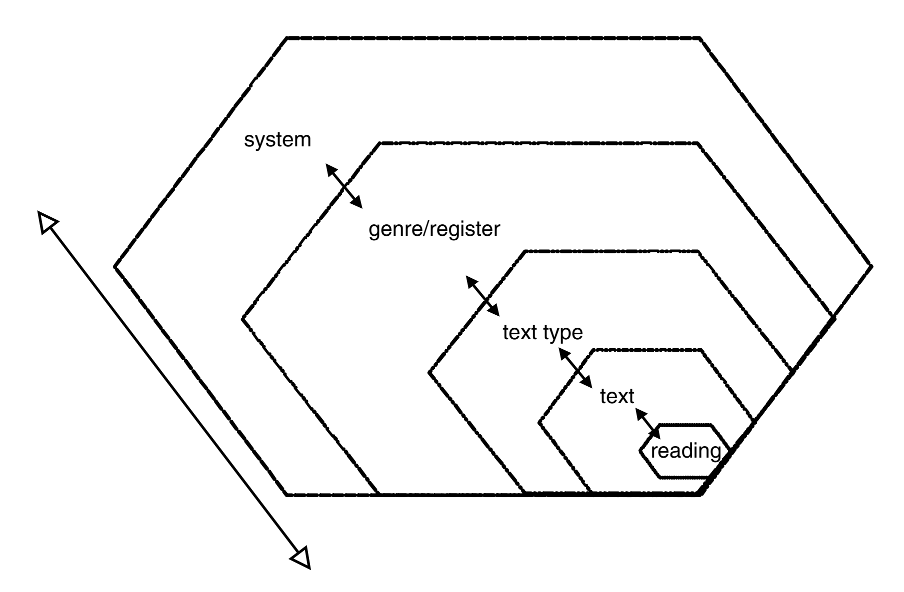


FIGURE 1.8 The hierarchy of instantiation – sub-potentialization in relation to system use

And note that since genre is a pattern of register patterns, genre and register are at the same level of generality (sub-potentiality) as far as instantiation is concerned. To make this more specific, advice columns recurrently deploy only part of the meaning potential the realisation hierarchy makes available. We don't appeal to agony aunts for advice about every field, we don't ask just anyone, and we put our request in writing in print or web-based media; for this genre, only certain field, tenor and mode variables are at risk.

Instantiation is also important with respect to the issue of what Martin and Rose (2008) refer to as stage and phase in the Modern Guru text we considered earlier. They use stage to refer to the conventional recurrent syntagmatic structure of a genre, and phase for sub-staging, which may vary across text types or even instances. While it seemed reasonable above to generalize the genre's Question/problem^Answer/solution, and within Answer/solution its Rationale^Advice structure, we reserved judgement on the Goldilocks phasing ('too hot, too cold, just right') structuring the Rationale. If this middle ground rhetoric were to recur often enough we might recognize an advice column text type with phasing of this kind; if it occurred less frequently we'd be more likely to treat it as an instantial patterning specific to just one or an occasional text – we wouldn't be able to generalize it up the instantiation cline. What this highlights is the intersection of the realisation and instantiation hierarchies at the level of system: realisation is concerned with this end of the instantiation cline, since all strata are designed to model comprehensively the meaning potential of a culture.[6]

All levels of realisation are involved in instantiation. Genre specializes meaning, as do field, tenor and mode, and so on through the strata of language itself. Advice columns, for example, are about what people should and shouldn't do, so recurrently take up the language of proposals – including modulations of obligation and permission, demands for services, and rules. Just how these are realized across language strata depends on how tenor is played out and fine tuned. E.B. queries with modulated interrogatives (e.g. ***Should*** *I have told her about the mistake*); a putative mate replies with a bare imperative (***keep*** *that extra mark*); an imagined teacher threatens with consequences (e.g. *which could lead to ongoing exam failures, resulting in . . .*); and the Modern Guru takes up an authoritative bureaucratic stance by proposing a rule (e.g. *I propose a Universal Fortuitous Windfall Cut-Off Point)*, and then spelling out its application in modulated declaratives (e.g. *You're* ***allowed*** *up to three extra marks on an exam paper before telling the teacher*).

Instantiation is a relatively underdeveloped hierarchy in SFL, in part because it is severely under-theorized, in part because of the difficulty of computing meanings in quantitative analysis (Halliday 2005, Bednarek *this volume*), and following on from this in part because suitable theories and visualizations of instantiation, whether digital or figurative, have not been proposed (Zappavigna and Caldwell 2008, Zappavigna et al. *forthcoming*). Three concepts which might help us on our way are *coupling, commitment* and *iconization*, which we'll introduce here (Martin 2006, 2008a, 2008b, Caple 2008, Hood 2008, Zappavigna et al. 2008).

Coupling refers to the way in which meanings combine – across strata, metafunctions, ranks, and simultaneous systems (and across modalities, as discussed below). Since the realisation hierarchy deals with combinations of meaning by and large within strata, metafunctions, ranks and simultaneous systems, an indefinitely large set of possible combinations is left open. Since texts specify combinations from this set, the concept of coupling is required to focus attention on how this unfolds. For example, the Modern Guru's parallel nominal groups instantiating windfalls all exhibit the grammatical nominal group function structure Decitic^Epithet^Thing^Qualifier; but beyond this they all choose remote deixis, extraordinary evaluation, desirable entities, in specific sites. The text combines far more than lexicogrammar, or lexicogrammar interacting with discourse semantics, might predict. It couples specific combinations, to fine-tune the Guru's rendition of the genre, as outlined in Table 1.2.

Table 1.2 Recurrent coupling of meanings instantiating windfalls

Deictic – remote	**Epithet – extraordinary**	**Thing – windfall**	**Qualifier – location**
that	extra	mark	on an exam paper
that	accidental	$10	from a faulty ATM
that	unexpected	meatball	in your turkey-breast sub

Commitment refers to the degree of specificity of the meaning instantiated in a text; this has to do with how many optional choices for meaning are taken up and how generally the choices a text subscribes to are instantiated. For example, the windfalls just reviewed are referred to most generally by the Modern Guru as *some of the great moments of life,* more particularly as *lovely little windfalls* (reprised referentially as *these*[7]) and more specifically still as the coupling triplets in Table 1.2.

some of the great moments of life
  lovely little windfalls
    that extra mark on an exam paper,
    that accidental $10 from a faulty ATM,
    that unexpected meatball in your turkey-breast sub,

Similarly, one of these windfalls is realized most generally as *cash,* more particularly as *$10* and most specifically as *$10 notes*:

the *cash*
  that accidental *$10* from a faulty ATM
    three *$10 notes* from a faulty ATM

And the Subway sandwich is instantiated more generally as *non-meatball* and more specifically as *turkey-breast*:

three unasked-for meatballs on a *non-meatball sub*
  that unexpected meatball in your *turkey-breast sub*

Degrees of specificity couple with one another as a text unfolds, and are an important part of the rhetoric of every genre.

Coupling and commitment are crucial concepts in multimodal discourse analysis, where synergies between modalities of communication are concerned. The Modern Guru column comprises verbiage and image, including as it does an image positioned to be read as a photo[8] of the Modern Guru himself. The image couples with both the title of the column and the name of the columnist (Danny Katz). By apparently specifying as it does the appearance (age, gender, haircut) and mystical power (the third eye) of the Guru, the image prepares us for the humorous 'agony uncle' tweak Katz brings to the genre.

Colour reinforces the intermodal coupling of third eye to Modern Guru, both foregrounded in orange (see Painter 2008 for a social semiotic framework for the analysis of colour and Tian *this volume* for an analysis of colour in a picture book). Alongside its semiotic function in multimodal texts of this kind, it is important to note in passing that colour impacts somatically on viewers – it engenders a neuro-biological response. This raises important issues about the borders of semiosis, and how much responsibility social semioticians take for



Plate 1.2 Intermodal coupling and commitment in the Modern Guru column

coupling not just across modalities of communication but between these modalities and their embodiment in biological species. As Caldwell (*this volume*) and Zappavigna et al. (*this volume*) demonstrate, when it comes to the interaction of sound and verbiage the issue of embodied meaning is unavoidable (van Leeuwen 1999).

Iconization refers to the process of instantiation whereby ideational meaning is discharged and interpersonal meaning charged. The image of the third eye is the most salient example of this in the Modern Guru text. This eye is both more than the other two eyes and less – less in the sense that most of us wouldn't expect to see it if we met the person in the photograph, and don't really believe Katz is looking at us through this 'anja chakra'; more because it symbolizes enlightenment, and thereby endows Katz with spiritually powered wisdom as far as giving advice is concerned (the imagic coupling of this eye with his western haircut tells us not to take this endowment too seriously). The third eye is thus less than an eye representationally, and more than an eye symbolically. Iconization is easiest to bring to consciousness in the context of images, artifacts and people (peace symbols, flags, statues, team colours, famous leaders and so on). But it is the basic instantiation principle behind the genesis of playful headlines, metaphors and idioms as well (Chang 2004). For example, the particular instance of the advice column we are sampling here is titled *Testing Times*. As an English idiom we don't expect the expression to refer to school examinations; it is rather an appreciation of difficult conditions one is working through. But as is often the case in media discourse (Caple 2008) the Modern Guru recharges the expression's original ideational meaning as we couple the heading with the text that follows. What has been discharged through iconization over time is momentarily restored in this instance of verbal play (see Caple *this volume* for further discussion).

Before turning to consideration of a further hierarchy, individuation, in the next section, let's pause for a moment here to reinforce the complementarity of realisation (a scale of abstraction) and instantiation (a scale of generalization),

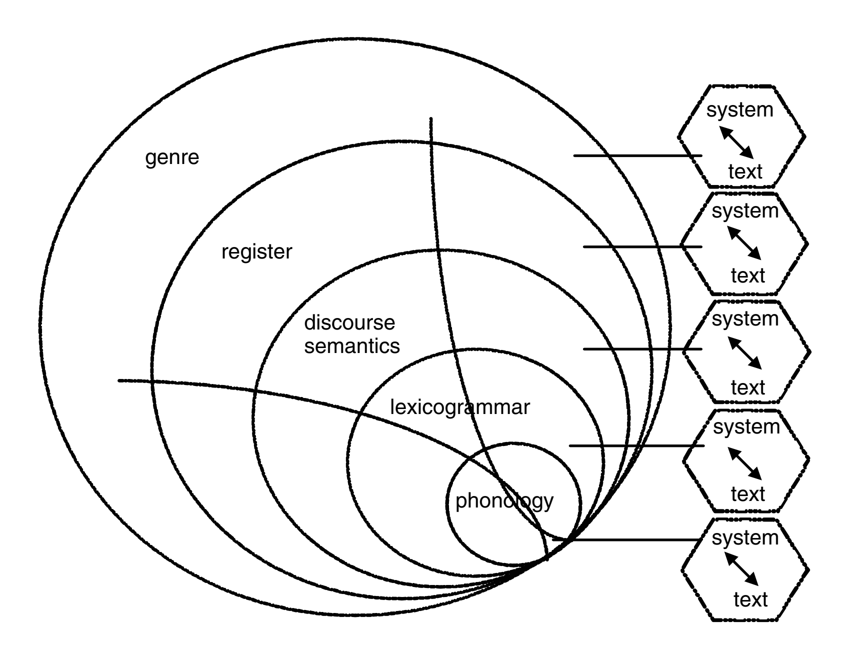


FIGURE 1.9 Realisation in relation to instantiation (all strata instantiate)

and reflect on the fact that all strata instantiate, and all texts are sub-potentializations of systems. Figure 1.9 has been designed to flag this complementarity, since the illusion of realisation conflating with instantiation (or with axis for that matter) is so strong.[9]

4 Individuation

Whereas instantiation refers to the specialization of the meaning potential of a culture text by text, individuation specializes that meaning potential according to people (for users rather than uses of language). The Modern Guru foregrounds individuation in the contrast he sets up between the schoolkid's and schoolteacher's response to the extra mark:

> 'Nawwwww, keep that extra mark coz, like, the teacher totally stuffed up, y'know, specially if it was, like, a maths test and she added up wrong, haw haw, that'd be, like hilarical'

> 'You caddish little rotter! By pilfering that extra point, not only are you behaving reprehensibly, but you are failing to recognise your true scholastic abilities, which could lead to ongoing exam failures, resulting in a botched education, culminating in a life of destitution at a Dickensian workhouse, blacking boots for Mr Bumble!'

And he explicitly claims these responses to be representative of the way all schoolkids and all schoolteachers talk:

> – and, by the way, this is how all schoolkids talk; I know, I've snuck peeks at my own kids' msn messages, until they blocked me out using the parental control filter. Apparently it can also filter out controlling parents.
>
> – and by the way, that's how I imagine all schoolteachers talk, and they all wear mortarboards and black gowns, and look like old wire-moustached Latin masters as drawn by Ronald Searle.

As we can see, the way in which the meaning resources of a culture are distributed across social groups is perhaps something that is more commented upon in our culture than the specialization of discourses across genres (with layers of abstraction along the realisation hierarchy further buried still). Gender, generation and social class differentiations are sensitive issues, so strongly implicated are they in power and the attitudes we take up to one another. Our readings of difference in this area are especially finely tuned, so that we recognize not just the semantic styles associated with 'master' identities such as gender and generation (Tracy 2002, Knight *this volume*, Tian *this volume*) but the styles of smaller social groups, including nations (Tann *this volume*), 'tribes' of various kinds (emos, goths, bikies, surfies etc.), circles of friends (Knight *this volume*), couples and individual personalities themselves. In SFL the main work on individuation has been oriented to generation, gender and class in the language of the mothers of pre-school children (Hasan 1996, 2005; Williams 2005). The pivotal role played by the media and popular culture in negotiating identity is explored by Caldwell, Knox et al., Caple and Tian (all *this volume*).

In Bernstein's terms, focusing on the ends of the cline, individuation has to do with the relationship between the reservoir of meanings in a culture and the repertoire a given individual can mobilize. Bernstein (1996/2000: 157f.) discusses this relationship as part of his exploration of everyday discourse (his 'horizontal' discourse):

> I shall use the term *repertoire* to refer to the set of strategies and their analogic potential possessed by any one individual and the term *reservoir* to refer to the total of sets and its potential of the community as a whole. Thus the *repertoire* of each member of the community will have both a common nucleus but there will be differences between the *repertoires*. There will be differences between the *repertoires* because of the differences between members arising out of differences in members context and activities and their associated issues. (Bernstein 1996/2000: 158)

The sets of strategies and their analogic potential referred to by Bernstein involve both recognition and realisation rules (Bernstein 1996/2000: 104f.).

Recognition rules allow speakers to identify the specificity or similarity of contexts, and thus orient to what is expected or legitimate in that context; realisation rules enable speakers to produce culturally specific texts and practices. As Bernstein comments ' . . . one may be able to recognise that one is in a sociology class but not able to produce the texts and context-specific practices. In order to produce the legitimate text it is necessary to acquire the realisation rule' (Bernstein 1996/2000: 105). In SFL terms, Bernstein is exploring the relationship between individuation and instantiation here. Recognition and realisation rules are related to Bernstein's notions of classification and framing respectively, with classification dealing with the strength of boundaries between categories (between emos and goths for example), and framing dealing with the nature of communication (e.g. between emos or goths, and among them and any outsiders they talk to). Pushing deeper, classification and framing are related to Bernstein's concepts of power and control respectively (Bernstein 1996/2000: 16).

Analogizing from these complementarities, we can think of individuation along two trajectories, basically asking whether we are classifying identities or negotiating them. Along the reservoir to repertoire trajectory, we can conceive of a culture dividing into smaller and smaller communities as we move from the community as whole, through master identities (generation, gender, class, ethnicity, dis/ability) and sub-cultures to the personas that compose individual members. What we are concerned with here is power, classification and recognition rules – with boundaries between identities. Reversing direction, we can conceive of persona aligning themselves into sub-cultures, configuring master identities and constituting a culture. Along this trajectory we are concerned with realisation rules, framing and control – with negotiation among and across identities. While individuation is a suitable name for the first trajectory, affiliation seems more appropriate for the second. It is too early to tell whether this analogy across disciplines (from sociology of education to functional linguistics) will prove productive. But as Knight (*this volume*) has shown, looking up the individuation hierarchy is not homologous to looking down. A rough outline of these perspectives in presented in Figure 1.10. For ease of reference,

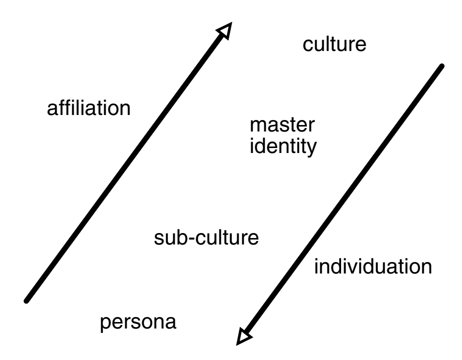


Figure 1.10 Individuation and affiliation

I'll continue to refer to this *affiliation/individuation* hierarchy as individuation below (but see Knight *this volume* for a different conceptualization of affiliation).

Individuation is the least developed hierarchy in SFL, for many of the same reasons blocking the development of instantiation (under-theorization, the difficulty of computing meanings in corpora, and the lack of representational resources). In addition, there is the problem of the political sensitivity of the issues involved. For liberals in modernity, the idea that deep down people are different flies in the face of their conception of equality; from early on in his career Bernstein became an intellectual pariah (anointed as such e.g. by Labov 1970: 118) on the basis of his exploration of the different semantic styles of middle and working class youth and the educational implications of the differences he found (cf. Sadovnik 1995, Bernstein 1996/2000). In post-modernity difference has come back into fashion, and our sense of our humanity does not depend on us being the same deep down. Whether this shift is enough to foster work on individuation remains to be seen. When the Modern Guru mocks the language of teenagers, few are likely to take offence; we laugh compliantly at the caricature. But demonstrating that large sections of the community are denied access to academic knowledge (Bernstein's vertical discourse) because their meaning potential allows for neither the recognition nor realisation of discourse of this order is another matter indeed. In general, making explicit the semantic style of Bernstein's agents of symbolic control (the new middle class) and suggesting ways in which this style can be redistributed in schools is an explosive cocktail with which action researchers of the Sydney School have wrestled for some decades (provoking recurrent efforts to shut the functional linguistics behind these initiatives down; Bernstein 1973, 2000; Christie and Martin 2007, Martin 2000).

Language is of course full of resources for negotiating community – both across metafunctions (ideational resources such as technical and specialized lexis, interpersonal resources such as naming and vocatives) and across strata (accents in phonology, grammatical variation and discourse semantic style). The Modern Guru, for example, uses the textual resource of homophoric reference to construct a community of lucky clients and consumers, including him and his readers, who he assumes have experienced comparable windfalls:

> *that* extra mark on an exam paper,
> *that* accidental $10 from a faulty ATM,
> *that* unexpected meatball in your turkey-breast sub

Note the contrast between this presuming reference and his proposal for a Universal Fortuitous Windfall Cut-Off Point where future bonuses

are instantiated non-specifically, with no presumption that readers will experience them all:

> You're allowed up to *three extra marks* on an exam paper before telling the teacher. Up to *three $10 notes* from a faulty ATM before returning the cash to the bank. And up to *three unasked-for meatballs* on a non-meatball sub before you yell at the Subway girl.

Recently appraisal theory (Martin and White 2005, Tian *this volume*, Tann *this volume*) has drawn attention to the community negotiating significance of evaluative language, such as that used by the Modern Guru confirm a community taking pleasure from such windfalls:

> these are some of the *great* moments of life and should be *cherished.*

Evaluations of this kind put community membership explicitly at risk, since they bring shared experience together with shared values (see also Bednarek *this volume*). The fact that the Modern Guru deploys more force than expected for the experiences reviewed (hyperbole), and positively evaluates an experience many of us would not in fact enjoy (the extra meatball), places readers in the position of either having to withdraw from the community of shared values he is adjudicating or laugh[10] the wrinkle off (Knight *this volume*) – thereby acknowledging that there are times when we might welcome an extra mark, some extra cash or even a little meat, even though there is another dimension of our persona that thinks that this is wrong.

In Knight's (*this volume*) terms, what is going on here is that the coupling of experience with evaluation, when shared by interlocutors, creates a bond (it's *great* to get *extra marks/cash/meatballs*). It is these bonds which form the basic building blocks of the individuation hierarchy, clustering into the sub-cultures and master identities to which community members subscribe. So where realisation is a hierarchy of signs, and instantiation a hierarchy of couplings, individuation is a hierarchy of bonds.

The bonds are most visible when canonized in relation to iconization. As they achieve this status they become symbols around which communities rally or against which they rebel (Martin and Stenglin 2007, Stenglin 2009). Stenglin refers to bonds of this order as bonding icons (or bondicons for short; Martin and Stenglin 2007). When the Modern Guru refers to Mr Bumble for example, he's referring not just to the minor church official who victimized Oliver Twist. As sparknotes.com comments, 'Dickens mercilessly satirizes his self-righteousness, greed, hypocrisy, and folly, of which his name is an obvious symbol' (http://www.sparknotes.com/lit/oliver/terms/char_8.html). Beyond this, for suitably literate members of our community, Mr Bumble stands as a symbol of exploitative behaviour of this kind, a repellent bondicon of the first order. The other repellent bondicon ('anti-bondy'?) in the Modern Guru's text is cartoonist

Ronald Searle's Latin master, from his St Trinian's School series. (An example from academia would be Bernstein, an 'anti-bondy' for some, a bondicon for others – see above on the controversy surrounding Bernstein and his concepts.)

Bondicons can be things as well as people, and something communities group around rather than against. The third eye in the Modern Guru text's image, discussed above, obviously plays a role of this kind in Hindu religion, and would have to be laughed off by readers who take its spiritual significance seriously but at the same time want to sustain membership in this advice column's readership. Where laughing off is not an option for everyone, some very serious political controversy can ensue, as the 2005 Jyllands-Posten Muhammad cartoons controversy has shown. The telling of political, national or religious jokes can also put bonding, and thus identity, and thus community membership at risk. Bonding is no laughing matter in contexts of this kind.

The most striking example of verbal bondicons are slogans, as deployed in epideictic discourse (Humphrey *in press*) and 'ceremonies' of various kinds (picket lines, protest marches, valedictory addresses, religious services, political rallies and so on). Visitors to Cuba during the fiftieth anniversary of its revolution in 2009 will have enjoyed an inspirational collection of these in multimodal texts displayed on billboards across the country (on sites where one would expect advertising of consumer goods in other parts of the world). Fidel Castro's speeches over the years have regularly ended with some of the most celebrated of these, including *Patria ou muerte* 'Motherland or death', *Venceremos* 'We will overcome' and Che's *Hasta la victoria siempre* 'Ever onwards to victory'. *I have a dream* resonates comparably north of the border, as does *Sorry* far away in Australia's reconciliation climes, or *The people united shall never be defeated* in labour and left movements around the world.

Before turning to a brief discussion of genesis in relation to realisation, instantiation and individuation, let's pause again to remind ourselves that all strata individuate. In linguistics in general, low level individuation (i.e. phonological and morphological variation) has tended to be referred to as dialectal (as foregrounded in the work of Labov, e.g. 1972); semantic variation, as explored in SFL, has generally been termed codal (in relation to Bernstein's notion of coding orientation; Hasan 2005). Dialectal and codal variation can be generalized in relation to individuation in the model[11] being developed here since all strata of realisation are relevant (as Firth [1957: 191–192] once said, 'It is part of the meaning of an American to sound like one'). This complementarity of realisation and individuation is reinforced in Figure 1.11.

5 Genesis

As noted in section 3 above, SFL foregrounds paradigmatic relations over syntagmatic ones. One consequence is this is that syntagmatic structures are not derived in real time. Rather they 'explode' into being once all the relevant

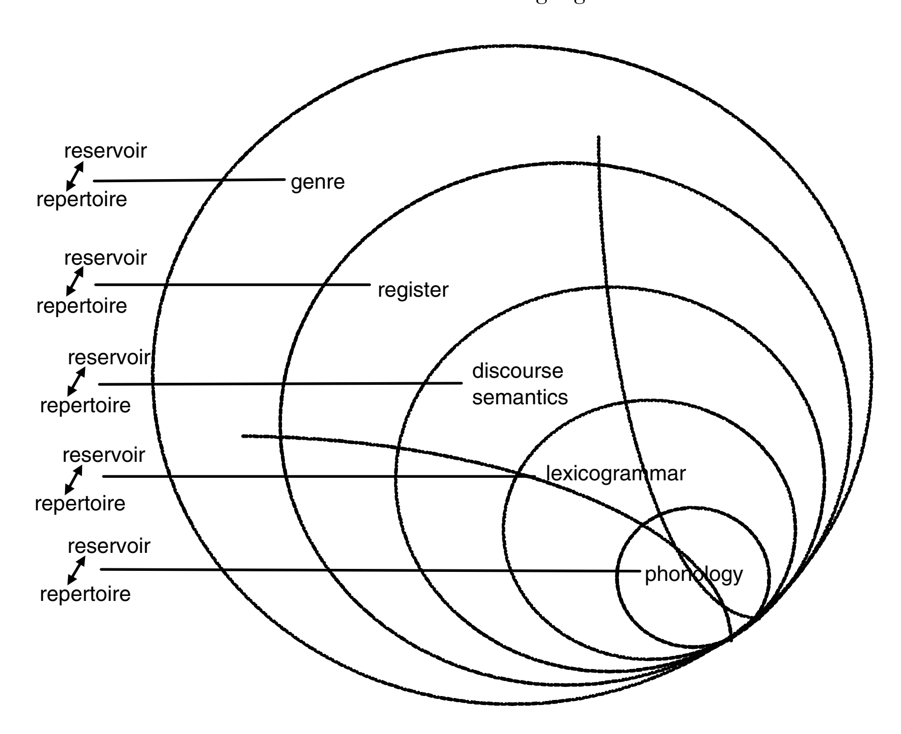


FIGURE 1.11 Realisation in relation to individuation (all strata individuate)

choices have been made in the system networks underlying them. In Figure 1.2 above for example, the feature [indicative] (square brackets signal features) is responsible for the presence of Subject and Finite, and the features [declarative] or [interrogative] for ordering them one after the other. Clearly there is logical sequencing here, since we can't order functions until we have something to order. But critically, there is no temporal sequencing; the formation of the function structures realizing mood does not correspond to the temporal unfolding of any unit of discourse, however large or small. Realisation is not concerned with discourse time.

This means that temporal contingencies in unfolding discourse have to be handled as a matter of instantiation, with respect to what Halliday and Matthiessen (e.g. 1999) call logogenesis (i.e. the temporal unfolding of texts through time). All couplings in other words have ultimately to be phased as linear strings of sounds or graphs[12] (or gestural signs in the language of the deaf). The Modern Guru foregrounds the significance of real time in his schoolkid's discourse, where the fillers stigmatizing that generation's spoken language break up what older speakers might consider a more natural text flow (*like, y'know* – perhaps most expertly mocked in Taylor Mali's 'Like_youknow' routine to be viewed at http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=SCNIBV87wV4); the Guru also lengthens,

for emphasis, the schoolkid's negative polarity (*Nawwwww*) and adds some laughter that might just as well have accompanied as interrupted the spoken version of this text (*haw haw*).

> '*Nawwwww*, keep that extra mark coz, *like*, the teacher totally stuffed up, *y'know*, specially if it was, *like*, a maths test and she added up wrong, *haw haw*, that'd be, *like* hilarical'

The paradigmatic orientation of SFL's realisation hierarchy has been a great strength as far as mapping the meaning potential of cultures has been concerned; but with respect to logogenesis, it has given many discourse analysts pause (Martin 1985, Ventola 1987, O'Donnell 1990, 1999, Bateman 2008a). Zhao (*this volume*) explores the issue in relation to web-based texts, and Zappavigna et al. (*this volume*) look carefully at timing across modalities (intonation and gesture). Until mathematically based animated visualizations are designed for the real time coupling of couplings in unfolding discourse, it is hard to see how more than anecdotal progress can be made on this frontier. We know that texts are snowballing, i.e. accumulating meanings, but we can't yet get a synoptic purchase on what is going on.

Comparable representational problems arise for longer spans of time – for ontogenesis (the development of an individual's meaning potential) and for phylogenesis (the evolution of resources for meaning in a culture). If suitably individuated for learning by osmosis for example, the Modern Guru's school kids will learn to reason in writing, and talk like a book, not through conjunctions linking clauses (*coz, if, and*) but through verbs (*lead to, result in, culminating in*) connecting abstractions inside them. S/he'll be able to reason two ways instead of one, and in doing so access the uncommon sense discourse of the culture (Halliday 2008, Simon-Vandenbergen et al. 2003, Zhu 2008).

Just as, over time, English evolved from a spoken language dominated by writers of uncommon sense Latin and French into a written language capable of construing science and technology, and social science, humanities and bureaucracy of a empire building and culture (and planet) annihilating order (Martin 1993, Halliday 2004, 2008). Our current realisational technology means that we can only model ontogenetic and phylogenetic change as synoptic snapshots of the meaning potential that exists at one time and then another (Painter 1984, 1993, Halliday 2004, Wignell 2007). And since identity is something that is ongoingly negotiated in discourse, this representational issue has implications for research into individuation as well. These are crises indeed – challenging theoretical issues for testing times. The young scholars in this volume have been apprenticed into this brave new world; a sketch of the cartography they are exploring here is outlined in Figure 1.12.

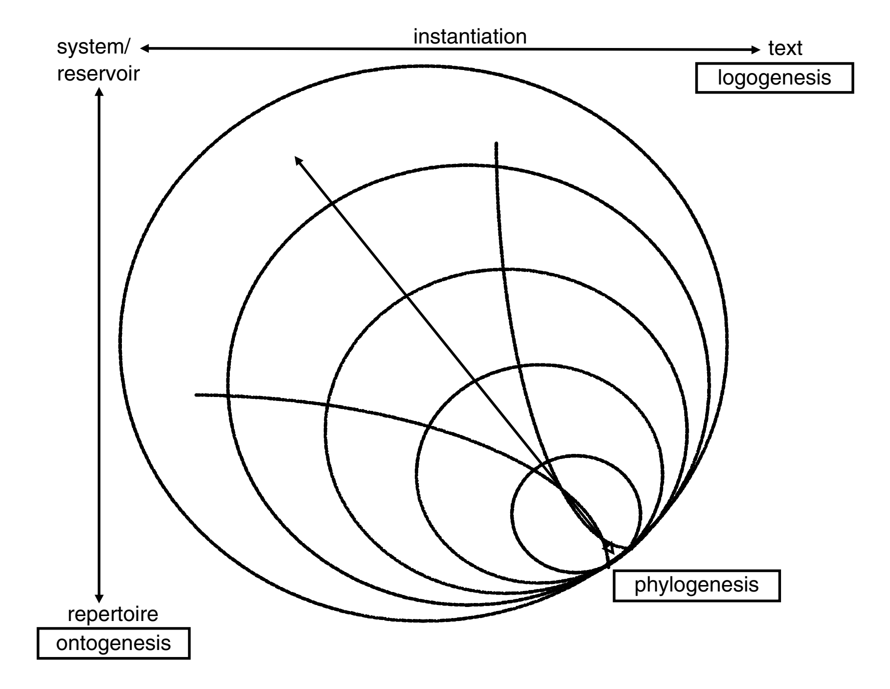


FIGURE 1.12 Realisation, instantiation and individuation in relation to genesis

6 Bonding and Identities – This Volume

For several years now I have had the privilege of working closely with the scholars in this book, as research students and colleagues. I have done my best to train them in the analyses SFL's realisation hierarchy affords, and the theory and practice informing these – and to ease ('shove' they might protest!) them over the edge of knowledge onto the slippery slopes of instantiation, individuation and genesis outlined here. Their collective commitment to multimodal discourse analysis, not just as functional linguists but as social semioticians in the fullest sense of the term, has been a major impetus for this research. As in all conversations of this kind, we don't just speak with one voice, but with several. In this chapter I've tried to sketch in general terms the theoretical cartography that forms the background of our work, as I understand it at this time. But there are many persona represented in the chapters to follow. They have each gone far deeper than I can see, and this chapter is necessarily a guide rather than any kind of prescriptive blueprint for their ideas. I commend their formulations to readers, ever mindful of the patience and respect colleagues will inevitably bring to their interrogation of these exciting initiatives, which make our future now.
Venceremos.

Notes

[1] Since *here* contracts with '*s*', it is taken as Subject here; it is difficult, for me at least, to tag this clause to confirm or undermine this analysis – ??*Here's what they'd probably say, isn't it*?; I'm actually happier with *Here's what they'd probably say, wouldn't they?*, indicating that *here* is a less than proto-typical Subject in a clause of this kind.

[2] I'm distinguishing here between ellipsis (where parts of clauses are omitted because they are recoverable from preceding text) and implicitness (where an element is regularly unrealized, regardless of co-text).

[3] For discussion of types of structure in relation to metafunctions see Halliday (2008), Martin and White (2005), Martin and Rose (2008), Tann (*this volume*).

[4] Halliday and Matthiessen (1999) propose a semantic rank scale for ideational meaning consisting of sequence, figure and element.

[5] Halliday and Matthiessen (e.g. 1999, 2004) don't distinguish between genre/register and text type as different levels on this scale, treat text as the instance end of the cline, and don't of course position genre on the scale (since they don't operate with a stratified model of context).

[6] In this respect it is very important to keep in mind that moving down the realisation hierarchy from genre to phonology doesn't get us any closer to an instance. The realisation circles get smaller because the size of unit which is the focus of each stratum changes as we move from say text to phase to sequence to clause to syllable and phoneme, and because higher levels are patterns of lower level ones. With instantiation on the other hand the visual metaphor of size has to do with the amount of meaning at risk, with more and more meaning circumscribed (i.e. less and less at risk) as we move from system to instance down the scale.

[7] Grammatically speaking *these* is of course the least ideationally committed of this set; but since we have to recover the meaning of its anaphor *lovely little windfalls* to interpret the text it would be aligned discourse semantically with the same level of commitment.

[8] Currently (beginning 21 February 2009) this photo has been replaced with one of what appears to be a different man (Katz himself this time), with curly hair, glasses, wearing a western suit and tie, and sometimes sitting in lotus position.

[9] For example, Martin (1992), misreading Hjelmslev as far as I can recall, hopelessly conflates realisation, instantiation and the 'realisation' of system in structure. The term realisation in SFL is partly to blame, since it has been so widely used to refer to metaredundancy relations between strata, constituency relations between ranks, the derivation of syntagmatic relations from paradigmatic ones and the instantiation of system in text, and reading Hjelmslev is always a challenging inferential task, so sparse is his exemplification and so deep his development of Saussure.

[10] Just as Saussure's conception of *valeur* is the basic building block for realisation, comparable to Bakhtin's genre for instantiation, so humour, I predict, will prove as fundamental to understanding individuation.

[11] Martin (1992) set up ideology as a stratum of social context more abstract than genre, with ideology defined as a system of coding orientations; that model of the social semantics of power is reinterpreted as individuation here.

[12] With multimodal texts the picture is more complicated, since images are organized in space not time; but even there eye movement studies have demonstrated the temporal dimension of their viewing, and they are in any case generally read in conjunction with verbiage, implicating time; see Bateman (2008b) for discussion.

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Chapter 2

Wrinkling Complexity: Concepts of Identity and Affiliation in Humour

Naomi K. Knight

1 Introduction

This chapter focuses on how communal identity is negotiated in text through a social process of value-sharing, and attempts to account for this process through a theory of affiliation. Based on data of conversational humour between Canadian friends, it also contributes to systemic functional linguistic theory by offering insight into humour and its relation to attitudinal meaning and community management. With respect to attitude and feelings in language, Martin (2004) explains that feelings are 'always about something – they are always interpersonal attitudes to ideational experience' (Martin 2004: 337; see note 4 on the ideational/interpersonal metafunction). According to Stenglin (2004: 406), it is in sharing value-infused ideational meanings that participants are aligned into communities, where they constantly negotiate their potential to commune around these values. However, this negotiation is not always straightforward, as values differ depending on which social networks discourse participants may ascribe to. That is, their differential identities impact upon the affiliative relations that they can negotiate in discourse. This chapter attempts to address these issues and to introduce this social process in relation to the theory of individuation, originating from Bernstein's (1996: 158) descriptions of cultural reservoir and individual repertoire and building on Matthiessen's (2007) and Martin's (2008a) developments of the theory in Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL). While individuation provides us with an initial model to account for the study of individual semantic styles, I propose *affiliation* to account for the communal identification of participants into communities of bonds. Through this model, persons are conceptualized as complex socially-bound semiotic interactants attracting and repelling social networks in a constant negotiation of shared identity. It will also be suggested that laughter functions as an explicit indicator of this social process, whereby participants orient towards sharing bonds by laughing together, and use humour to mediate the various social networks to which they belong.

In Section 2, I will discuss individuation and the notion of 'couplings' (Martin 2000b) that will be used in this chapter. The process of affiliation will be introduced and developed in Section 3. The relations between elements that are construed in affiliation will then be modelled as a cline of relations in Section 3.2, and its construal in texts of conversational humour will be presented in Section 3.3. Finally, in Section 3.4, three strategies of affiliation will be introduced for sharing communality in discourse. In pursuing a view on identity that incorporates affiliation in SFL theory, we can begin to perceive the ways that we identify ourselves both as individuals and as members of groups.

2 Perspectives on Individuation and Instantiation

2.1 Research on individuation

Individuation is a relatively new concept in SFL theory that was originally coined by Matthiessen (2003, cited in Martin 2007). This theoretical parameter presents a perspective on identity that is informed by notions of ideology and relates specifically to how individuals may display differential access to the linguistic resources of the culture. As Martin (2006: 276) explains, individuation 'interprets the relation of system to individual (of cultural reservoir to individual repertoires in Bernstein's terms; e.g. Bernstein 2000: 158)'. He further notes that for Bernstein, this relationship is mediated by coding orientation, or the speech codes that regulate a child's verbal communication and so shape his/her social identity (cf. Bernstein 1996). To date, the work of Hasan (e.g. Hasan 1992, 1995, 1996, 2005) and her colleagues (e.g. Cloran 1989, 1999, 2000; Hasan and Cloran 1990; Williams 2001) on coding orientation in particular contexts is the only substantial body of work in SFL that informs our notions of individuation (Martin 2008a: 36). This research explores mediating ideological forces in the child's development of language, with a focus on their learning of the culturally available meaning potential and their differentiated repertoires, and exhibits the claims of Bernstein that children are positioned 'with respect to dominant and dominated forms of communication and to the relationships between them' (Bernstein 1990: 13).

Matthiessen (2007) and Martin (e.g. 2006, 2007, 2008a, 2008b, *this volume*) have recently theorized aspects of the concept of individuation, most particularly the elements of coding orientation and reservoir and repertoire. Following Halliday (1994), Matthiessen (2007) considers coding orientation, or 'codal variation', to be situated on the instantiation cline (see Martin *this volume*, Bednarek *this volume* on instantiation) in between dialectal and registerial variation (see Figure 2.1), and describes it as a variation in semantic coding orientation or 'semantic style' (Matthiessen 2007: 539).

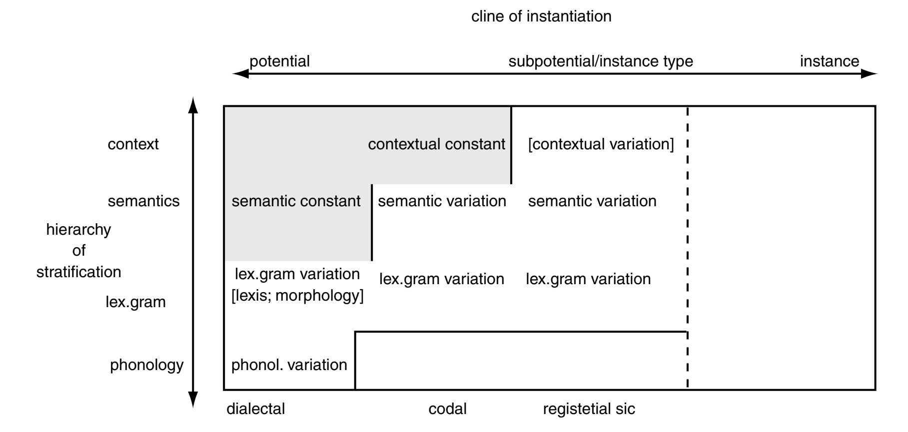


FIGURE 2.1 Kinds of variation in relation to instantiation and stratification (taken from Matthiessen 2007: 539)

These kinds of variation are differentiated from one another based on the consistency of their meanings in the stratification (or realisation) hierarchy, and Matthiessen specifies that codal variation involves consistent contexts and varies at the level of semantics. He aligns the Bernsteinian concepts of reservoir and repertoire with the system end and instance end of the instantiation cline respectively, and conflates the individual with the instance. Codal variation thus lies in between reservoir and repertoire but is not specified as a factor of individuation nor separated as distinct from the instance of text. Repertoire for Matthiessen refers to the individual meaner's set of 'registers' taken from the *speech fellowship*'s potential (the reservoir), and so he supports the study of semantic variation ('styles') in comparable contexts to locate statistically significant patterns of class variation in individual repertoires.

In contrast, Martin (2008a, *this volume*) describes individuation as a separate cline of relations alongside instantiation and realisation, and argues that it 'complements and must be read in relation' (Martin 2008a: 36) to these hierarchies. He aligns coding orientation with ideology (cf. Martin 1992: 495) and situates it on the cline in between the reservoir of meanings available in the culture and the individual repertoire (see Figure 2.2).

Through the separation of this cline, the individual is distinguished from an instance of text, and coding orientation mediates the distribution of cultural reservoir to individual repertoire:

> Instantiation explores the relationship between the reservoir of systems populating the realization hierarchy and their manifestation in text. Individuation explores the relationship between this reservoir and the repertoire deployed by individuals in texts. (Martin 2008b: 30–1)

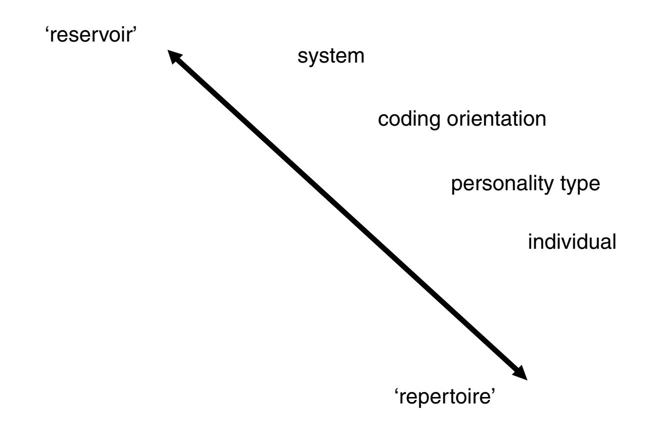


Figure 2.2 The cline of individuation (from Martin 2006: 294)

Martin's differentiation of a separate cline for individuation allows the social semiotic identity of the speaker to be focused upon, and is the model that will be taken up in this chapter. This notion of individuation differentiates between an instance of text and the identity that is created within it – that is, that the speaker is individualizing language according to a particular social valuing system while instantiating it (two processes happening always and at once). As Bednarek (*this volume*) indicates, Martin's division of two separate hierarchies allows for two different meaning relations:

> Simplifying the matter greatly we can say that instantiation relates to how a text is different from the system, and individuation relates to how an individual is different from the community. (Bednarek *this volume*)

Once we begin to perceive speakers in terms of communities, we must also consider not just how an individual differs from the community, but how social persons affiliate together *into* communities. As individuation theory has been dominated by the study of coding orientation and its impact upon the individual in ontogenetic terms,[1] research has maintained a focus on individual semantic style or variation (particularly in relation to social class). Both Martin (2008a) and Matthiessen (2007) continue to focus on the semantic or codal variations of speakers in order to establish a sense of individuation, representing identity in terms of an individualized repertoire of *genres* ('staged, goal oriented social process[es]' Martin and White 2005: 32).

During my studies on conversational humour (e.g. 2008, 2009, *in progress*), it has been difficult to discuss identity in terms similar to those used by Hasan and Matthiessen in relation to coding orientation/semantic variation/codal variation, and to Martin's construal of individuation. While these researchers have drawn

a number of conclusions about speaker repertoire by focusing on semantic variation, in the serial unfolding of the conversation genre (cf. Eggins and Slade 1997: 63–5), it is difficult to uncover identity through semantic styles alone. This is because participants in my data share equalized status relations and so often exhibit similar access to genres and their linguistic realisations, and the achievement of similarity seems to be foregrounded over the assertion of individual meaning potentials.[2] That is, differences between the individual repertoires of the conversational participants are not usually focused upon, and it is through their shared meanings that they seem to be co-identifying, as they laugh around meanings that are familiar to them. In fact, my data set is characterized by a great deal of laughter, and this conversational laughter occurs around talk that does not seem funny to a conversational outsider (cf. Norrick 1993, Provine 2000).

In order to gain a fuller picture of speaker identity that includes communal values and associations, I propose a perspective on the unfolding discursive construal of identity through a theory of *affiliation*. I suggest that a focus on the logogenetic construal of communality alongside a perspective on an individual's ontogenetic repertoire can provide a more comprehensive description of the person's sociality and identity. In order to be able to interpret affiliative processes through text, however, it is necessary to take a different perspective on established dimensions within SFL theory, such as the instantiation cline. This perspective will be discussed in the following section.

2.2 Instantiation and coupling

Complex social processes, such as how discourse participants affiliate into communities through text, may be uncovered through a novel perspective on instantiation and logogenesis (in Halliday and Matthiessen's 1999 terms, as 'process'). While within SFL theory, research efforts have predominantly been associated with developing the realisation hierarchy and focus on the manifestation of patterns of meaning generalized as system, instantiation offers a perspective on the manifestation of constrained meaning potential as culture (Martin 2008b). Martin (2008b) proposes that instantiation is 'more than the more and [sic] less recurrent selection of features; it also concerns how they are combined' (Martin 2008b: 44), and it is *combined meanings* that impact upon affiliative identities.

To study combined meanings, we look to the logogenetic patterning of text in instantiation as 'coupling',[3] originally introduced by Martin (2000b) and reformulated by him as 'the ways in which meanings combine, as pairs, triplets, quadruplets or any number of coordinated choices from system networks' (Martin 2008b: 39). This may be within and across metafunctions,[4] and may also include coupling across modes/semiotic resources (Caple 2008, Zappavigna et al. *this volume*), systems, strata, and ranks. In conceiving of this new perspective

on text, Martin (2008b) argues that '[a] focus on coupling enables us to describe more than the frequency of particular selection expressions' (Martin 2008b: 43).[5]

Particular selection expressions and their statistically significant patterns across texts have been the focus of research in an individuation perspective, informing notions of repertoire and semantic variation. The individual's instances of text over time provide an ontogenetic perspective on his/her repertoire, and patterns of an individual's repertoire of genres across texts (such as through the semantic variation studies by Hasan and the corpus methods suggested by Bednarek *this volume*) may be considered as a collection of meaning potential forming their characteristic semantic style. This research then concentrates on *difference*, on how individual repertoires may be distinguished in relation to other repertoires. This is an ontogenetic view on the development of a speaker's language, and relies on systemic probabilities, but it does not necessarily inform us about negotiating *similarity*, the construction of community and the dynamic negotiation of communal identities by speakers in text.

However, observing the logogenetic forming of couplings in text has opened up the possibility of engaging with those features of identity that are ongoingly negotiated. In particular, couplings that combine attitudinal meanings with ideation can inform us about how participants share and interpret values through meanings that are seemingly experiential in nature. Stenglin (2004) discusses the fusion of value with field[6] as an element of bonding which brings participants together into communities in which they can align around shared values, thus impacting upon the communal identities of participants as social actors (cf. Knight 2008). In my data of conversational humour between Canadian friends (see Knight *in progress* for further detail), couplings of attitude with ideational meanings may be found throughout the discourse, and the participants seem to laugh about values that are more or less shared between them. These include values around ideological categories such as age and gender, along with more personal values that bond them together in friendships. Interestingly, these value/field combinations are highly implicit due to the equalized status and closeness of the friends in tenor – the contextual parameter of relationships between interactants (cf. Poynton 1985).

While the study of instances of texts by individual speakers provides a view on individuation and ontogenesis, coupling accounts for the intertwining of metafunctional (and other meanings) in text as values through which interactants discursively co-identify, and as logogenetic patterns that may be recognized in discourse in relation to communities of the culture. Based on research on casual conversation, I suggest that a theory of communal identification in text through affiliation allows us to account for the wealth of information on identity that may be sought within an SFL framework (see also Tann *this volume* for a perspective on the discursive construal of collective identity in history texts).

3 Affiliation

3.1 Affiliation – an introduction

The proliferation of laughter through conversational data gives an indication that there is some social process being dynamically negotiated between conversational participants that has not been captured in analyses of written texts (cf. Glenn 2003), and that there is a tension that is released through the sharing of a laugh (see e.g. Raskin 1985: 19; Morreall 1983: 21). It is difficult, however, to interpret why the participants are laughing because the meanings in their discourse are highly implicit, and appear often as expressions of experiential meaning only. For instance, in Example 1, the participants discuss one of the recent by-laws passed in Toronto banning smoking in bars and restaurants,[7] and then laugh about Quebec's continued allowance of indoor smoking:

P Yeah like it's *so gross* de- and even it's funny cause in Quebec it's not like that so when you go to restaurants they still ask you, 'Smoking or non-smoking' ==
G == (That's weird)
P and I'm just like '*why do you ask*' (laughs) 'why are you smoking is- isn't it all non-smoking?' ==
G == 'I wanna sit *inside*' (laughs)

Example 1 Laughing off smoking (transcription conventions adapted from Eggins and Slade 1997)

The meanings in this text are not overtly attitudinal, and the only explicit clue given that attitude is involved is G's reaction 'That's weird', suggesting that what they are presenting does not align with their notions of normality or 'expectedness' (Bednarek 2006: 48). Their laughter suggests, however, that the option given by Quebec restaurants to smoke indoors does not align with a common bond that these participants share between them, namely a bond around indoor smoking as illegal in their home province.

Turning to a perspective on affiliation shows that in the unfolding of the text, the experiences, participants and things discussed are encoded or *tied up* with interpersonal values that work to create the tension, as participants have particular values towards particular experiences that may not always line up between them and others. These are expressed in the text as experiential meanings *coupled* with attitude, so that 'smoking' in Example 1 is coupled with a negative attitude for these participants in the Toronto community, while Quebec's allowance of indoor smoking presents a positive attitude coupling, creating the laughable tension. That is, in relation to the banning of smoking in Toronto, the speakers present Quebec's support of smoking in restaurants as indicating a more positive orientation to it as 'sanctioned' (positive judgement in Martin and White's 2005 terms) behaviour in that circumstance of location.

These attitude + ideation couplings ('+' is used in this chapter to denote the coupling of two meanings) realize social bonds with which participants discursively construe their communal identities, and it is this bonding in the social interaction that is met with tension marked by laughter.

Thus, within this 'personal/social domain' (McCormack 1991, cited in Humphrey 2008) of conversation, there is a discourse of social value-sharing that is encoded implicitly through linguistic couplings and strategically enacted through humour. In this way, humour provides a lens on the elements of identity that Martin (2008a: 57–8) has suggested are important for fuller analyses. Laughter in conversation is an explicit signal of a social process going on between the discourse participants as they negotiate values through couplings. It indicates a tension in the bonding and co-identification into social networks of values, and also signals that more is at stake socially than the straightforward representation of experience.

In the logogenetic unfolding of the text, the reaction of laughter signals that hearers are recognizing what has been presented by the speaker as a coupling (a linguistic pattern of interpersonal meaning combining with ideational meaning), and have interpreted it as 'laughable' in relation to their communal identities. In Example 1, G's laughter shows that she recognizes in P's utterance a coupling presented by Quebec's restaurants of positive judgement towards smoking as a behaviour in the circumstance of 'inside', and finds this laughable as a Torontonian, an identity she shares in laughing with P. This particular kind of identity negotiation is based on bonding and sharing in the dynamic unfolding of the text, and discursively construing a 'shared self'. The participants are perceived as negotiating the socio-semiotic process of affiliation by presenting these couplings to be recognized in the unfolding discourse, and it is in this way that a perspective on individuation alone cannot account for the dynamic nature of communal identification.

Affiliation is thus a theory of communal identity as discursively negotiated in text. It captures the logogenetic patterning of interpersonal + ideational couplings (across metafunctions) in text, which are presented to share as social *bonds* between interactants. Specifically, couplings realize bonds of value with experience linguistically, as bonds are on a higher order of abstraction in the socio-cultural context. We discursively negotiate our communal identities through bonds that we can share, and these bonds make up the value sets of our communities and culture, but they are not stable and fixed. Rather, bonds are constantly negotiated in the linguistic text through couplings, and these couplings are determined through analysis in the unfolding of the text (for instance, by laughter following it as a recognition of this pattern). A coupling is then a pattern in the logogenetic unfolding of the text that realizes a bond in the socio-cultural context (cf. Zhao *this volume*). A bond can be defined as the cultural pattern by which we discursively construe our communal identities by laughing at, communing around, or rejecting them through discourse in the form of couplings (see Section 3.4).

By presenting and reacting to couplings in discourse, participants negotiate who they are based on what bonds they share. That is, they are affiliating by simultaneously bonding and identifying themselves as co-members of one community of values and not another. This may be seen in Example 1, as the speakers bond together as co-members of a Toronto community in which the indoor smoking ban is shared as a bond, and through humour, identify themselves as *not* currently affiliating with the Quebec community. As this process is negotiated through the presentation of interpersonal + ideational couplings in the unfolding text, bonds move us beyond choices that function within a single metafunctional domain, and into a negotiation of *choices of bonds* in affiliation.

Affiliation may then be seen as a development of bonding (Stenglin 2004, Martin 2004, Caple *this volume*), which is described both as a social process of aligning into communities around shared values, and as the combination of ideational and interpersonal value or 'the investiture of attitude in activity' (Martin and White 2005: 211). In terms of affiliation theory, interpersonal and ideational meanings are brought together into the notion of the 'bond', which is the *semiotic unit* represented on a higher order of abstraction that brings participants together as they negotiate the *logogenetic process* of affiliation. This differs from the social process of bonding as it describes not only how participants 'rally . . . around communal ideals' (Martin and Stenglin 2006: 217), but how they differentially align by laughing off and rejecting unshared values as well (see Section 3.4 on affiliative strategies), incorporating the notion of a logogenetic discursive identity (see Section 3.4.1 for how bonds also differ from 'bonding icons' [Stenglin 2004]).

Thus, through an analysis of couplings as they occur dynamically in text, one may interpret the aspects of identity that are construed through social networking and shared values. These couplings, if shared between the interactants, construe a shared self as they realize bonds between minimally two people,[8] and this is an important aspect of identity to capture beyond that of the individual's own personalized meaning potential. While the selection of systemic features by individual speakers informs us about how individuals may deploy the language system differentially in individuation, when we view discourse through affiliation we can begin to see how otherwise distinct meanings are tied together within various communities and shared as commonalities between social persons.[9]

Both individuation, in terms of the individual (ontogenetic) repertoires of speakers as instantiated in discrete choices of meaning, and affiliation, which involves the shared (logogenetic) identities of discursive partners negotiated through couplings in text, impact upon identity in important ways, but they are two different and distinguishable perspectives on the phenomenon. Both concepts incorporate the notion of the socio-semiotic person, but they must be brought together to develop a more complete understanding of identity in text. In order to begin to model how a bond relates to the community identity it

construes, it is useful to represent affiliation in a similar way to Martin's (2006) representation of individuation as a cline, relating repertoire to reservoir. This is an attempt to begin to represent those elements that are part of our affiliative sociality, discursively negotiated in text. This representation will be pursued in the following section.

3.2 Affiliation formulated

In analogy to Martin's (2006) representation of individuation, and taking a systems perspective on sociality, we can perhaps visualize how interactants may negotiate bonds in affiliation by representing the elements construed by speakers as relations on a cline. While it is unclear at this stage of theorizing what principle may be behind the relations of bonds to communities and communities to culture, by representing these relations on a cline (see Figure 2.3), we may be able to consider the process of affiliation as a negotiation of identities connected at different degrees of generality (perhaps similar to relations in instantiation, cf. Halliday and Matthiessen 1999: 323).

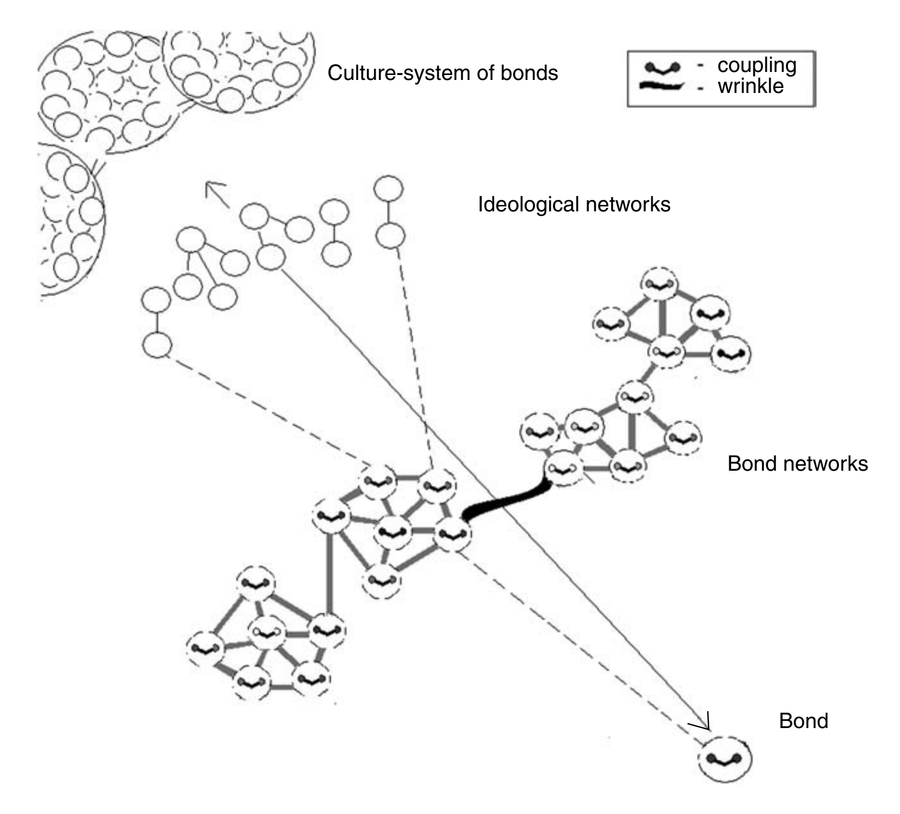


FIGURE 2.3 Cline of relations in affiliation

As Figure 2.3 illustrates, bonds can be seen to cluster into communities of bonds, and then to more generalized ideological divisions of community, and these are less than the overall communing potential of the system of bonds in the culture.

A bond is the minimal social unit on the cline, and is realized by a coupling in affiliative negotiations in text. The bond is connected to a particular community or 'bond network', as indicated by a broken line. Bond networks may be seen as similar to Sacks' Membership Categorization Devices (MCDs) (cf. Sacks 1992), as interactants are identified in the text through bonds in relation to organized sets of categories (i.e. clusters of bonds) (see Tann *this volume* for a discussion of membership categorization in a systemic functional perspective). In Figure 2.3, solid lines between bonds in these bond networks show the clustering of shared bonds into community value sets, and these include and are connected to bonds of 'master' ideological networks (which are themselves less 'dense' (Milroy 1980) than say, friendship networks, as they are distinguished by major bond oppositions such as 'male' and 'female' bonds). The communing potential is represented as a system of bonds.

Interactants (minimally two) enter a negotiation of affiliation by sharing a coupling, which realizes a bond representing their shared self in affiliation. Stenglin (2004: 406) defines 'bonding icons' as symbols of belonging around which people rally, and which 'instantiate a community and materialize Bonding through the fusion of interpersonal and ideational meanings'. 'Bonds' also have this function, but may be considered as less powerful, highly negotiable symbols of communities that can potentially be laughed at, rallied around or rejected in discourse (see Section 3.4 below). These bonds connect and construe the social networking of participants – their bond networks – which are themselves social semiotic entities, and may be aligned with aspects of Tracy's (2002) description of 'relational' and 'interactional' identities. The particular ideological social divisions that affect coding orientation in individuals also mediate affiliation, and ideological networks involve the broader, less negotiable bonds that constantly intercede the social identities that participants negotiate. This includes networks of gender, age, ethnicity, capacity, and class (as outlined by Martin and White 2005: 29), and can be aligned with Tracy's (2002) 'master' identities.

I propose to interpret the affiliative negotiation of identity logogenetically, instance by instance and bond by bond. In other words, affiliation can be viewed through logogenesis in couplings within a text as an ongoing process, and communities are construed as social persons build up shared bonds within these instances. Also, culture is considered to constrain possible open choices from the language system presumably into a system of *bonds* in affiliation, and participants affiliate a communing potential around these bonds. This may be seen in Knox et al. *this volume*, as the cultural position established in Thai newspapers against the anti-government movement in the Southern conflict constrains the coupling of positive judgement for their actions (which are rather represented

as 'brutal' and 'evil'). In this way, the actions of militants are represented as an 'anti-Thai struggle', so that those who consider themselves members of the Thai culture may not share bonds with the 'murderers'. Through the logogenetic process of affiliation, discrete meaning choices in the language system are shown to be amalgamated into combined meanings particular to communities.

Culture can thus be seen in two distinct ways: as a reservoir of genres/registers (as is the focus in most individuation studies), and as a (dynamic) system of bonds (in affiliation), and each of these requires a different perspective on the text. The meaning potential of the system of language is constrained into couplings as communities bring together different bonds, valuing ideational meanings differentially in various social networks of the culture, so that discourse is often infused with particular value sets. Interactants must negotiate their identities both in terms of their abilities to instantiate appropriate linguistic meanings to the speech community and to combine appropriate values and experiences within the social networks to which they belong.

3.3 Getting into affiliation

We can examine the shared identities of interactants through an analysis of couplings in a text, particularly in casual conversation where attitudes drive the discourse (cf. Martin 2000a). Since these meanings in conversation are so often invoked and dependent upon a great deal of shared knowledge and experience between the interactants, we may take laughter as our signal and way in to identifying couplings and the social process of affiliation.

Laughter has been described as a communicative device in a number of linguistic studies, especially in the conversation analysis tradition (cf. Sacks 1974; Jefferson 1979; Glenn 2003), as laughter proliferates in casual conversation especially among friends. The burst of laughter as a reaction in the unfolding text indicates that there is some tension that is being released through the sharing of a laugh, and flags the presence of couplings in text that cannot be communed around by the interactants in their ongoing process of bonding. A hearer then signals his/her recognition of the coupling as something laughable in relation to their communal bonds. In this way, laughter signals 'etically'[10] (Pike 1967) the negotiation of affiliation as it is a clear indicator of the tension, or *wrinkle*,[11] that is caused when participants present couplings around which they cannot bond. These couplings are often highly invoked in the discourse and otherwise difficult to interpret as a conversational outsider and as an analyst. Since conversational participants are constantly negotiating affiliation and building up their social complexity, the bonds of their various associated social networks may at times clash with those of other interactants. Humour is a way to present these clashing bonds as laughable, so that the interactants may laugh this off together in favour of shareable bonds from common

social networks (around which they commune). Laughter then works in the interaction to complete the negotiation of affiliation[12] as participants defer the laughable bond in favour of their shared bonds, bonding together based on a shared identity while identifying themselves as having (or associating with) alternative bonds in other circumstances. This type of humour is called 'convivial conversational humour'[13] because it is oriented towards solidarity and connecting around shared bond networks, and is characteristic of what goes on in conversation between friends in which laughter proliferates.[14]

The use of convivial conversational humour in affiliation can be seen in the following example of three young female university students discussing their recent holidays away from school:

U == Yeah I saw like my family and friends . . . I **ate well** (*laughs*)
N We all **ate well**.
(*all laugh*)
N Dude we all (*laughing*) **ate *good* pie**!
(*continuous laughing*)
U Yes I agree. (*continuous laughing*) **On a diet** now.(*all laugh*)

Example 2 Phase of convivial conversational humour between friends (Couplings in bold)

In this example, U first emits a laugh, signalling that she has presented a coupling in text that is creating a wrinkle for her now that she has returned to school to affiliate with the other female students (that is, her positive appreciation for eating a lot of food with her family). N reacts to this coupling by adding herself and the other present interactant to those who have shared this coupling as a bond at home, and all of the interactants then laugh this off so that they may now affiliate together as young female students (sharing a bond of thinness) while identifying as family members on other occasions (in which sharing a bond of heavy eating is not laughable). The laughter shows that these participants are negotiating the social process of affiliation (in particular, a deferring strategy of affiliation) as they laugh off tensions of their conflicting identities in order to bond together. They negotiate bonds through the process of the discourse in their attitude + ideation couplings. The relations construed in this interaction are represented in Figure 2.4.

The two single bonds at the end of the cline represent the shared 'beautiful thinness' bond of the participants in Example 2 and the unshared 'happy fatness' bond that creates a wrinkle for them (represented by a wavy line). Each of these bonds is realized by a coupling but only one is shared as a communal identity bond in the current context. The communities or networks to which these are connected, too, are in tension in humour, as the bonds that wrinkle between them separate them (the wrinkle is shown again in Figure 2.4 by a wavy line at the level of the bond networks).

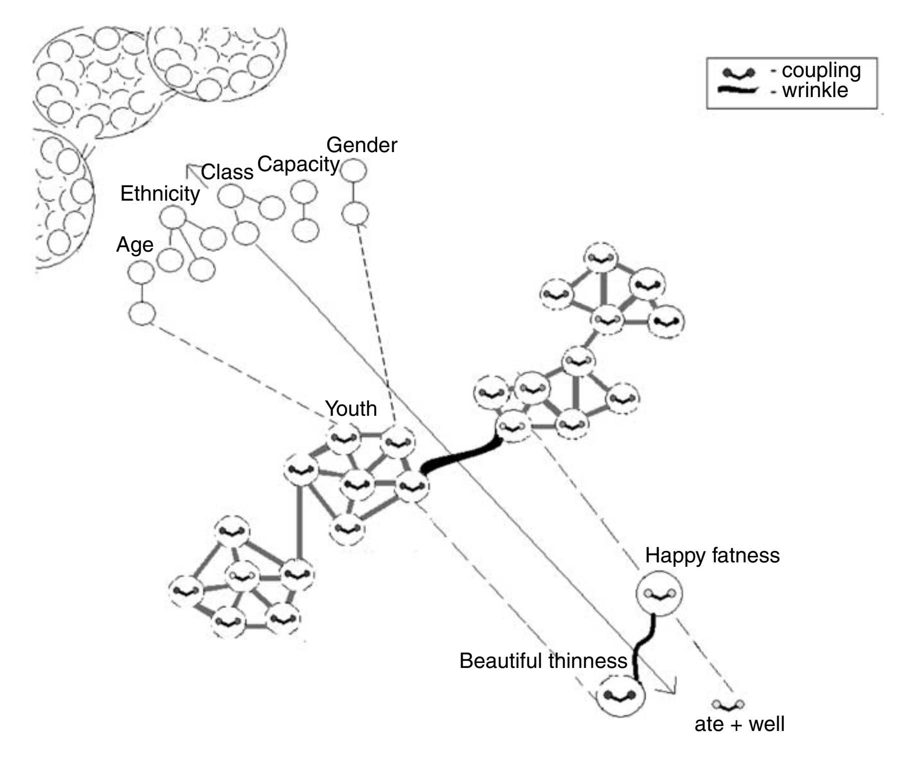


FIGURE 2.4 Negotiation of wrinkling bonds in affiliation

By analysing the presentation of couplings in Example 2 through affiliation, we can begin to perceive them through the unfolding text as realizing particular bonds because laughter makes it evident that bonds are in tension in the negotiation. A 'happy fatness' bond of the family network is deferred and the wrinkle it causes is laughed off as the participants share a 'beautiful thinness' bond of the young female students network. These personal bond networks are also arbitrated by more generalized bonds of ideological networks, so that 'youth', for example, is also construed here as a shared bond and constrains what these participants can share.

While this text may be studied through an analysis of the semantic styles of the participants and their individual repertoires in alignment with the cline of individuation, it is in this case more fruitful to begin to apply affiliation to the negotiation between the participants, as the laughter indicates their ongoing discursive construal of communal identities through a 'laughing affiliation' strategy (see Section 3.4.3). These participants are shown to foreground bonding by co-identifying as young female students together, and do so by laughing off the wrinkle caused by the bonds they had shared during their previous affiliations with family. The laughs in this phase signal this process and its successful accomplishment, but humour is not the only strategy by which affiliation is negotiated in talk.

3.4 Strategies of affiliation

While laughter signals that the social process of affiliation is going on in an unfolding text, laughing is only one strategy for affiliating. Participants not only laugh off the wrinkles that create tension, but also commune around bonds that they can share and reject bonds that create such a serious tension that it is considered a violation to the shared bond sensitivities of the participants. That is, there are degrees of togetherness by which they can co-identify. Communal identities are negotiated by participants according to who they are, who they are not, and who they might otherwise be or affiliate with (in other company or different circumstances). This allows for a space to be negotiated (usually by humour) between 'in-groups' or shared social networks and 'out-groups' or *unshareable* social networks, to laugh off tensions caused by social networks that are simply unshared. Thus, affiliation includes three strategies,[15] construing different degrees of the shared self: communing affiliation, laughing affiliation and condemning affiliation (see Table 2.1).

3.4.1 Communing affiliation

This type of affiliation is based on Stenglin's (2004) theory of bonding and her description of the 'bonding icon' as a symbol of solidarity that functions as a rallying device. These bonding icons or 'bondicons' (Martin 2008c: 130) evoke community by 'crystallising strong interpersonal attitudes to ideational meanings' (Stenglin 2004: 410), and this allows community members to identify with them and rally around them as symbols of that membership. Bondicons can be distinguished as stronger, less-negotiable bonds (than those negotiated in humour) in affiliation, as they serve as core symbols of particular bond networks, or the pivotal bond around which members establish their membership. They are also symbols that have achieved their status phylogenetically in the culture, often symbolizing very strong and serious values, such as nationhood (see Stenglin 2004: 410), peace (see Martin 2008c: 131), and spirituality (see Martin and Stenglin 2006: 228), and they rely on a shared history to be interpreted that is beyond the range of more personal bond networks.

Table 2.1 Affiliation strategies

Strategy	**COMMUNING**	**LAUGHING**	**CONDEMNING**
Strategic 'action' towards bond:	Sharing a bond or rallying around a bonding icon (Stenglin 2004)	Deferring an unshared bond	Rejecting an unshareable bond
Type of tension:	—	'wrinkle'	'violation'
Characteristic discourse:	Rallying	Humour	Gossip

In communing affiliation, interactants negotiate both bondicons and bonds that are representative of smaller more personal networks as they reflect a core around which they can rally as members. They do so by presenting a single 'communable' bond to share, realized in text by an interpersonal + ideational coupling. Example 3 shows three conversational participants communing around a bond realized by a coupling of intensified positive appreciation for a ritual 'pie party' that they participate in together:

F Party's over. For me
N No more **pie party** ==
C == This was an **awesome pie party** guys
N I **love pie parties**
C I **can't wait** to have another **one**

Example 3 Communing affiliation in conversation between friends (Couplings in bold)

These participants negotiate a core bond that represents their personal friendship network (of F, N and C), as by participating in the ritual 'pie party' they are able to continue constantly negotiating their affiliation as friends through chat. They present a coupling of intensified positive appreciation with the pie party/ pie parties as a single bond to share, and they commune around it by accepting and building on C's inscribed positive appreciation. As the speakers do not present any wrinkle to create tension with this bond, there is no laughter reaction.

Thus, interactants negotiate who they are based on what bonds they share and can commune around. F, N, and C are 'friends' based on the ritual pie party bond that forms the core of this network. By communing around it, they construct a shared social network directly without introducing or acknowledging any outside tension, and this demonstrates a straightforward affiliative negotiation of shared identity. This differs from the other two affiliation strategies, in which participants must negotiate an additional bond that intervenes in the bonding process to create tension, removing this tension by identifying with underlying communable bonds they do share. The tension created by the presence of the two bonds differs depending on whether the intruding bond is *violating* those shared by the interactants or not.

3.4.2 Condemning affiliation

In condemning affiliation, which is often at play in the discourse of gossip (cf. Eggins and Slade 1997: 273–310), one bond that is made or has been presented by someone (often in the past) creates a violation with the bonds shared between the current discourse interactants. This tension, because it is a serious violation to their bond sensitivities, must then be eradicated by rejecting the

violating bond in favour of communable bonds that the interactants do share. The tension momentarily prevents bonding, as the interactants must first reject a bond to share one and continue the affiliation process, and once they do so they may identify as members of the shared community of values. The speaker in Example 4 makes explicit that a bond presented by her stage manager conflicts with the bonds shared between her and her theatre staff:

K It was the way she would **act** sometimes would be very . . . **very negative**.
[pause- 2 secs]
And we'd-we'd try like to keep a **positive environment** ==
T == wha [exhales]
K (at the tech), you can be **motivating** but it's not very motivating to have someone **yelling at you** for stuff, and
G Yeah

Example 4 Condemning affiliation in conversation between friends (Couplings in bold)

In retelling this event, speaker K recounts how her stage manager would use a lot of criticizing in managing, i.e. would evaluate criticism positively in that context ('she would be . . . very negative'), whereas the rest of the participants would evaluate this negatively ('we'd try like to keep a positive environment'). We can interpret this as K presenting a coupling of positive appreciation for criticism that has been given by an outside participant, her stage manager, and juxtaposing it with a coupling of positive appreciation for 'keeping a positive environment', realizing a bond of 'motivating encouragement' shared by her and her staff. Because the stage manager presents a negativity that is so opposed to the positive environment that K and her staff attempt to maintain, it creates a serious violation that prevents them from bonding together; so she is condemned in the conversation. By this contrast of bonds, the conversational participants can interpret the offensive coupling ('act + negative') as creating a violation with their own shared bonds and reject it together (as K shares the story to bond with G around motivating encouragement as well). Thus, in condemning affiliation, the interactants negotiate who they are based on who they *are not* and would not otherwise be or affiliate with. In discourse, they reject bonds that are *unshareable* in favour of bonds that are shared between them within a community. While there is a tension that is presented here between two bonds, because this is presented as serious enough to be rejected, there is again no laughter reaction.

3.4.3 Laughing affiliation

It is in the strategy of laughing affiliation that participants negotiate the identity space between that of 'who they are' and 'who they are not', mediating these

extremes through humour, as exemplified above in Examples 1 and 2. Using this strategy, a speaker will present a coupling that realizes a bond of some alternative bond network rather than that which is being shared in the discourse between the current interactants. That is, the coupling may be shared as a bond in other texts perhaps with other participants, but does not realize a communal identity in the current conversation. However, this bond does not violate what they share as in condemning affiliation. Rather, it creates only a minor tension – a wrinkle – between the two bonds, and the wrinkle can then be seen as non-serious or humorous and is thus 'laughed off'. So, in Example 2, the speaker presents a coupling of 'ate + well' realizing a bond of 'happy fatness' that she had once shared in the family bond network, but at the same time she evokes an underlying bond of 'beautiful thinness' in the young female students bond network, creating a wrinkle between them. This is interpreted by the others as a humorous minor tension, and is laughed off, so that they defer the 'happy fatness' bond together. Through laughter, the wrinkle-causing bond is deferred rather than rejected, and so the bond network association that the speaker has presented is made acceptable despite its diversion from the current affiliation going on in the discourse. Interactants often use this strategy in my conversational data to manage their complex sociality, as the bonds that they share with different people at different times do not always align, and can prevent bonding in conversation unless they are laughed off by both speaker and hearers (and so shown to be an acceptable difference). In Example 2, the participants manage the bonds they shared with their families as laughable to realign and bond together as young female students. It is then with this strategy that interactants negotiate who they are based on who they might otherwise be or affiliate with (or potentially who they are otherwise *forced* to affiliate with, cf. Knight 2008). In discourse, they defer bonds that are unshared at the moment in favour of those that can be shared between them, creating a space of acceptable identity values between 'insider' and 'outsider'.

Through humour, these aspects of identity are logogenetically negotiated between interactants, creating an identity space in which potential 'outsider' identities are simply deferred, and informing our notions of the bond networks that populate a culture. This differs from the binary and disjunctive positions set up in the history texts explored in Tann (*this volume*), by which readers are required, and given no option but, to choose one position or the other. A perspective on affiliation shows how humour can be a powerful resource for mediating group belongings, expanding the identity space for this negotiation between interactants, and informing our notions of identity.

4 Conclusion

In light of the developments in theories of individuation and affiliation, a reconsideration of how we look at the construal of community through text would aid

research efforts in identity in SFL. While individual variation may be accounted for by individuation, affiliation allows for the interpretation of what is discursively shared between interactants as members of a culture, particularly in face-to-face casual contexts such as conversation (and also fruitfully explored in studies of computer-mediated communication, e.g. Baym 1995, O'Sullivan et al. 2004).

The dynamic negotiation of couplings between persons may be considered within a text (rather than across texts) through affiliation. This theory exhibits how interactants constantly negotiate a discursive communal identity in text and achieve solidarity around values that bond them together. Once both individuation and affiliation are taken into account as different perspectives on speaker/writer identity, and we can begin to view identity and communality through logogenesis and coupling, then the combination of metafunctional meanings in language can inform, and be informed by, such complicated discourses as humour.

It is useful to distinguish affiliation as working on a different time scale than the traditional ontogenetic perspective on repertoire, as affiliation requires a focus on different features and patterns in the linguistic text that are ongoingly negotiated between participants. While I have proposed that the negotiated elements of sociality in affiliation can be visualized in clinal terms and in relation to a system of bonds, this may prove to be a less effective model for explaining and capturing the dynamic nature of this social process. At the moment, however, it remains a challenge in SFL how we may properly represent and visualize relations that do not align neatly with our systemic orientations (cf. Zhao *this volume*; Zappavigna and Caldwell 2008). Further comprehensive studies of humorous and non-humorous texts can help to properly populate a cline of relations for affiliation, specifically in terms of how bonds may be perceived to cluster into bond networks.

In addition, more textual clues to this social process alongside couplings are likely to be found (including the potential role of other evaluative resources, oppositional pronouns 'us' and 'them', as well as the use of vocatives). It would also be useful to explore how affiliation may be construed through a range of non-verbal semiotic resources, such as those considered by Zappavigna et al. (*this volume*), as well as image-verbiage relations examined in this volume by Caple, Knox et al. and Tian, and as initiated for music by Caldwell (*this volume*). In widening our focus to include these complementary aspects of identity that bring social semiotic persons together, we may perceive how persons may (or may not) negotiate social complexity in different ways not only in terms of self-image, but as collaborators in a shared culture with various degrees of others.

Notes

[1] Ontogenesis is one of three time frames in SFL (see Martin *this volume*, Zhao *this volume*, Bednarek *this volume*). *Ontogenesis* refers to the development of a speaker's

language; *logogenesis* refers to the development or unfolding of meaning in text; *phylogenesis* refers to the evolution of languages.

[2] Caldwell (*this volume*), on the other hand, exhibits the assertion of individual meaning potentials by rap artists *for* achieving affiliation with audiences.

[3] This also incorporates Zhao's (*this volume*) description of coupling as a logogenetic pattern.

[4] Halliday (e.g. 1978) outlines three complementary kinds of meaning involved in the organization of language, which he terms 'metafunctions': the ideational metafunction (divided into experiential and logical), which concerns the construal of experience; the interpersonal metafunction, by which interactants enact relationships; and the textual metafunction, which enables text by ordering the other two as discourse. See Martin (*this volume*) and Tann (*this volume*) for further discussion.

[5] See Bednarek (*this volume*) on notions related to coupling in SFL and corpus linguistics.

[6] By field, I refer to the 'field of discourse' as a variable of register in Martin's (e.g. 1992) terms. As an aspect of the social context, field concerns that activity that is going on in discourse, and is realized in language (through the ideational metafunction) in the participants, processes and circumstances that make up these activities (see Martin and Rose 2007).

[7] A number of laws were passed in Toronto, Canada banning smoking inside bars and restaurants, while Quebec did not prohibit indoor smoking until 2006, more than a year after this conversation took place (see http://www.statcan.gc.ca/pub/82–003-x/2006008/article/smoking-tabac/t/4060721-eng.htm).

[8] A *shared coupling* represents the minimal social unit of the bond in affiliation, and these are interactionally constructed. So, this aspect of identity must then be construed through the interaction of at least two persons.

[9] That is not to say that affiliative meanings cannot be considered in ontogenetic terms and in relation to an individual's repertoire. Their affiliative identity or 'communing potential' can also be seen through repertoire, as those couplings he/she shares in discourse may be reflective of affiliative tendencies with others. The individual's repertoire may be interpreted in his/her instantiated features of genres and linguistic systems, while his/her couplings may only be interpreted relationally with an interlocutor and on a dynamic basis. So, this aspect of the repertoire is constantly being negotiated, and it would be necessary to study texts over a range of situations with different interlocutors in order to interpret a sense of the person's communing potential, perhaps through a study of their coupling 'syndromes' (Zappavigna et al. 2008, Zappavigna et al. *this volume*).

[10] Pike (1967) describes two perspectives on a cultural system as 'emic' and 'etic', in analogy to the two perspectives on sounding in language in 'phonemics' and 'phonetics'. The 'emic' focuses on intrinsic distinctions meaningful to members of the culture (e.g. how speakers interpret differences in their language), while 'etic' focuses on extrinsic categories meaningful to scientific observers (e.g. how we would approach the phenomenon as linguists).

[11] This term is mentioned in Martin and White (2005: 90) as being coined by Suzanne Eggins in her work on humour, but the term is reformulated for my own purposes.

[12] Laughter may also mark a wrinkle depending on its placement in the exchange, and indicates meanings in the systems of negotiation and appraisal (see Knight and Cléirigh *forthcoming*).

[13] This is similar to Provine's (2000) description 'convivial humor', but is specific to conversation between friends and intimates.

[14] Caple (*this volume*) also shows how newspapers use a humorous play between words and images to membership a community of readers, indicating that this affiliative strategy may be found through evidence of textual play as well.

[15] This list may not be exhaustive, and more strategies of affiliation may be found in future research.

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Chapter 3

Making Metre Mean: Identity and Affiliation in the Rap Music of Kanye West*

David Caldwell

1 Introduction

This chapter explores the rhythmic styles of a selection of rap artists who have collaborated with rap producer Kanye West. The chapter brings together insights from musicology and popular music studies with developments in Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) and Multimodal Discourse Analysis (MDA). Inspired by van Leeuwen's (1999) and Martinec's (2000) description of rhythm in a range of multimodal texts, it describes the different kinds of rhythmic synchronicity (the synchronization of the rhythm of the voice with the beat of the music) expressed by six of West's collaborators. As a contribution to Zappavigna's work on multimodal visualization (Zappavigna and Caldwell 2008, Zappavigna et al. *forthcoming*), it also presents a new visual representation of rhythmic synchronicity. The findings are then considered in light of recent developments in individuation and affiliation (e.g. Bednarek *this volume*, Knight *this volume*, Martin *this volume*). First, meaning potentials are assigned to the various rapping styles with a specific focus on the identities they construe. These are then related to a more general discussion of Kanye West's individuation and affiliation – the identity he construes with respect to the rappers he collaborates with, and the way in which he affiliates with his consumers.

The chapter begins with a review of rhythmic synchronicity in rap music from a music studies[1] perspective (Section 2.1). This is followed with a review of the major contributions in SFL and MDA to rhythmic synchronicity and rhythm more generally (Section 2.2). Section 3 presents the analysis of the data and subsequent findings, including information on the Kanye West corpus (Section 3.1.) and a detailed description of the visual representations (Section 3.2). Section 4 considers those findings in terms of music semiotics and the kinds of identity construed by the various rapping styles (Section 4.1). In the final section (Section 4.2.) Kanye West is discussed more generally in terms of individuation and affiliation.

2 Background

2.1 Rap music, rhythmic synchronicity and the academy

Rhythmic synchronicity is considered a defining characteristic of the rapping performance. In essence, it involves the salient syllables of the vocals synchronizing with the 'beat' or 'pulse' of the musical accompaniment.[2] As ethnomusicologist Keyes explains:

> In this regard, flow [rapping, D.C.] involves synchronizing text with the beat of the music or, as MCs assert, 'rappin to the beat' or 'riding a beat'. One performer asserts that 'the rhythm of the beat and music . . . got to be there for the lyrics [to] like join into one' (Dynasty interview). In this sense, the rhythm track functions as a time organizer around which the rhymed couplet unit weaves. The interlocking of text and accompaniment creates the Western music concept hocket, whereby all of the parts fit together to form a whole rhythmic idea. (Keyes 2002: 126)

Although rhythmic synchronicity is considered fundamental to rap music, Yasin (1997) argues that very little research has actually investigated, in detail, the nature of the synchronicity:

> How the spoken words in rap music conform to the beat of the sampled music has not been explored in depth. In fact, most writers have been preoccupied with the history and the content of the messages which are communicated through the spoken words in rap lyrics. (Yasin 1997: 74)

This is generally true. However, there are several publications which describe rhythmic synchronicity in rap music (Walser 1995, Keyes 1996, Yasin 1997, Krims 2000). From ethnomusicology, Walser and Keyes describe the rhyming practices of 'old-school' rappers from the 1980s and 1990s which they relate to African-American culture more generally. Yasin (1997) is also interested in the ways in which rhymed couplets interact with, or are 'mapped onto', the music beats in rap music. Yasin's methodology draws on Lerdahl and Jackendoff's (1983) generative theory of music, based on structural, generative linguistics. Unfortunately, Yasin's generative orientation makes it especially difficult to assign meanings to the musical patterns he describes, and then, to relate these to broader issues such as social identity. As McDonald argues: 'a framework that privileges structure over meaning, system over text, and the cognitive over the social, is unable to provide a broader understanding of music beyond pattern recognition' (McDonald 2005: 463). Krims' (2000) 'musical poetics' is closest to the concerns of this chapter, outlining a genre system for rap music according to a number of variables, including rhythm, alongside 'layering' (the overlapping of multiple looped tracks) and 'topics' (the semantic content of the text).

Through a combination of ethnography, semiotics and cultural studies, he then relates these styles to the formation of ethnic and local identities.

Despite this groundbreaking research, there is scope for a social semiotic analysis of the different styles of rhythmic synchronicity in contemporary rap music. Like McDonald (2005), I would argue that only social semiotics enables the expressions of rhythmic synchronicity to be systematically related to broader social and cultural readings and that Halliday's model of stratification (Martin *this volume*) provides a sound theoretical framework by which to consistently relate the semiotic to the social and vice versa. This chapter will also develop the work of Krims (2000) and focus in detail on rhythmic synchronicity; relating different styles to a general set of personal identities or attributes rather than ethnic and local identities. Finally, a key contribution of this chapter is to develop a more appropriate visual representation of rhythmic synchronicity.

With the exception of Krims (2000), the above-mentioned researchers use staff notation to present rhythmic synchronicity. This is problematic for a variety of reasons. Musical transcriptions of commercial rap music rarely exist, and copyright means they are difficult to reproduce if they do. Moreover, as many scholars in popular music studies have argued (e.g. Middleton 1990), staff notation is relatively deficient in representing musical systems other than melody, especially rhythm and timbre. This is especially problematic in a rap music context where rhythm and timbre are foregrounded (see Krims 2000: 97–8 for a critique of staff notation in a rap music context).

Yasin (1997: 108–12) has developed a useful rhythmic chart that summarizes relevant phonological and rhythmic features according to musical measures: the word, syllables per word, syllables of each polysyllabic word, phonemic transcription of each word, the type of musical note representing each syllable, the number of beats (or portion of a beat of each syllable), the number of syllables which account for each beat per measure, and the place the drum beats occur per measure. While the information presented in Yasin's table is useful, it is not a visual representation. It is a table that summarizes, in words, a variety of variables in a rapping performance. The column to the far right side of the table has the most useful information in terms of rhythmic synchronicity: when the pulse of the music is articulated. However, the reader has to then locate what syllable, if any, is actually synchronizing with the pulse. And this does not capture the true nature of synchronicity. Rhythmic synchronicity is an overlap, a merging of sounds in 'real-time'. A table does not adequately capture this. Similarly, because so much information is provided for each syllable, the synchronicity is not read along a horizontal axis, generally considered representative of text and music unfolding in time. Instead, each row constitutes a new syllable. Again, this does not capture logogenesis: the development of meaning in text over time (Halliday and Matthiessen 1999: 17–18; see also Zhao *this volume* for a discussion of logogenesis). In the case of rap music, real-time synchronization is integral to the rapping performance.

Krims' (2000) visual representations are somewhat more effective. First, he does not base his description on staff notation and his visual representations are especially clear. Drawing on Babbitt's beat-class (see Krims 2000: 49–62 for a detailed description of 'beat-classes'), Krims neatly captures rhythmic synchronicity by aligning each syllable with the pulse (also divided into sixteenth notes) of the musical accompaniment. However, Krims' representations do not include note length, which he argues is difficult to identify in rap music and not the concern of those interested in the placement of syllables and rhymes. The representations presented in this chapter (Section 3.2) *will* include length, as well as salience – realized as a combination of syllable length, loudness and pitch movement. I would argue that any description of rhythmic synchronicity requires a basic description of salience; how 'hard' or 'soft' the rapper actually synchronizes with the pulse of the music.

2.2 Rhythm, music and SFL

Systemic Functional Linguistics offers a detailed description of the phonological stratum of language, including the way in which rhythm is deployed (e.g. Halliday 1970, van Leeuwen 1992, Halliday and Greaves 2008;[3] Zappavigna et al. *this volume* also provides an introduction to SFL phonology, focusing particularly on intonation). Halliday identifies the foot as the basic unit that realizes rhythm in English. Each foot consists of one or more syllables, and the first syllable in the foot is always salient:

> The salient syllable carries the beat. 'Salient' can be thought of as meaning 'stressed'; but we shall use the term 'salient' . . . Each foot always normally consists either of one salient syllable alone or of one salient syllable followed by one or more non-salient, or *weak*, syllables. Thus, again, like the bar in music, the foot always begins with a beat . . . A foot may begin with a silent beat, without the rhythm becoming disrupted or lost. (Halliday 1970: 1)

While phonological descriptions of rhythm in English provide a useful starting point, this chapter is interested in a multimodal phenomenon; the interaction between the rhythm of language and the pulse of the music. In those terms, there are only two publications in SFL that address this topic specifically: van Leeuwen (1999) and Martinec (2000).

Van Leeuwen's *Speech, Music, Sound* (1999) follows a basic model of social semiotics to assign meaning potentials to sound in language, music and sound effects, developing system networks for perspective, time, melody, sonic interaction and voice quality. It provides a comprehensive description of rhythm in a variety of linguistic and musical contexts, including rap music:

> The Rap artist Grandmaster Flash, in 'The Message', uses it [one syllable per measure, D.C.] to convey exasperation, in a line whose long-drawn-out

> monosyllabic rhythm clashes with the rhythm of the bass and the drums and contrasts with much of the rest of the song in which most measures have four syllables and a pulse which coincides with the main pulse of the drums (some/ *times* it makes me/ *won*der how I/ *keep* from going/ *un*der//).
>
> [*Don't/ push/ me/ I/ am/ close/ to/ the/ EDGE//*] (Van Leeuwen 1999: 46)

Van Leeuwen (1999) also describes the different ways in which rhythms interact, including the kinds of interaction that occur between voice and music in popular music. Of relevance to this chapter is van Leeuwen's system of metronomic and non-metronomic timing. While monorhythmic music will always have a main beat – in the case of rap music a simple 4/4 metre realized by instrumental support – there is always the possibility that the vocalist may anticipate or delay that beat. Van Leeuwen classifies this as non-metronomic timing or syncopation. In contrast, metronomic timing involves unwavering, precise timing. Rhythmic synchronicity, as it is defined in this chapter, can be realized by both metronomic and non-metronomic timing; either synchronizing every stressed syllable with the pulse of the music or subverting the metronomic time by not always synchronizing the stressed syllables with the pulse of the music. I would also add that the choice between metronomic and non-metronomic time is gradable; in other words, there are *degrees* of synchronicity.

Drawing on van Leeuwen's (1985) semiotic analysis of rhythm in multimodal texts, Martinec presents a hierarchical model of rhythm in language, music and action. In short, the model distinguishes between rhythm and metre showing that metre synchronizes the rhythm hierarchies of musical instruments, as well as voice, music and action. However, this chapter will not apply Martinec's (2000) hierarchical model of rhythm to rap music. This is mainly because the rhythm of the musical accompaniment is only analysed here to the level of whole notes, which is sufficient to describe different kinds of rhythmic synchronicity. Moreover, it is reasonable to assume that most rap music would be coded as 'mono-synchrony' in Martinec's terms: when all or nearly all rhythmic levels across the modes are synchronized throughout. Martinec explains that this usually occurs when there is a highly regimented and controlled metre, which is a fundamental feature of rap music. This chapter *has* however adapted and developed various aspects of Martinec's visual representations for rhythmic hierarchies (see Martinec 2000: 294–97).

Both Martinec (2000) and van Leeuwen (1999) also offer semiotic interpretations of rhythmic synchronicity. Martinec favours non-synchrony, arguing for example that 'much pop music is uninteresting because of the great degree of true synchronization between text and music and between the rhythmic hierarchies of different instruments' (Martinec 2000: 293). This interpretation of synchronicity is not really applicable to the rap music context where synchronization is often highly valued. Van Leeuwen (1999), however, assigns specific meaning potentials to rhythmic synchronicity: 'music can thus either align itself

with the time of the clock, enact it, celebrate it, affectively identify with it – or struggle with it, rebel against it, subvert it' (van Leeuwen 1999: 59). These meanings are useful in the context of this paper. They provide a general sense at least of what it means to *be* a synchronizer or non-synchronizer; the kind of character or identity one might have.

Despite the existing social semiotic research by van Leeuwen (1999) and Martinec (2000) on music, there is clearly scope for an MDA of rhythmic synchronicity in rap music. Martinec's innovative visual representations can be developed. And in terms of social semiotics more generally, both van Leeuwen and Martinec offer only a 'taste' of the kinds of meaning that are construed through rhythmic synchronization. There is much more to be said about how these meanings relate to the identities of those that express them.

3 Analysis

3.1 The Kanye West corpus

Kanye West is a contemporary African-American rapper and producer. Over the past decade, West has received numerous awards and achieved immense commercial success as a rapper and producer (see Caldwell *forthcoming* for a list of West's awards and achievements). West is very much representative of popular music culture (see Bednarek *this volume* and Tian *this volume* for other analyses of popular culture). In fact, West is unreserved in his affection for popular culture:

> 'I was listening to the stuff that really excited me when I was a kid. It was Boy George and Madonna and Michael Jackson and Peter Gabriel and Phil Collins. I completely subscribe to popular culture.' He disdains what he calls the snobbery of people who think if something is popular 'then it's necessarily bullshit'. 'Look at all those indie guitar bands who look down on pop music. My question to them is: Do you not want a song of yours to explode and be heard by everyone?' (Boyd 2008: 2)

The term 'popular' has been the subject of much debate within music studies (see e.g. Hesmondhalgh and Negus 2002) and does not *only* have to be understood from a quantitative perspective as it is here. Nevertheless, it is important to distinguish West from less commoditized, 'underground' forms of rap music. Put simply, West is 'widely experienced and/or enjoyed' (Hesmondhalgh and Negus 2002: 2). So in terms of individuation and affiliation, West is a provocative case study. He deliberately seeks to affiliate with as many people as possible.

This chapter is specifically interested in West's role as producer. His rapping voice will not be analysed for rhythmic synchronicity. Instead, this chapter is

interested in the choices that West has made as producer: who does he collaborate with; does he collaborate with a range of rhythmic synchronicities; what does this then say about West's identity or individuation as producer; and how does this relate to his capacity to affiliate with so many consumers?

The role of musical producer has always been highly valued in the rap music genre. Since its formation, the rapping performance (with the exception of *a capella* rapping) has always involved some kind of electronic, instrumental support. As Keyes explains:

> Each MC [rapper D.C.] has a DJ whose sole responsibility is to provide the musical soundtrack to which MCs construct rhyming couplets and to which the dancers rock . . . By the mid-1980s, DJs were supplementing the manual process of mixing music with electronic instruments – digital samplers, drum machines, sequences and synthesizers . . . DJs use sampling to mix and mingle bits and pieces of 'breaks' from records, 'mix and mingle into musical collages of sounds' (Kemp 1989: 68). (Keyes 2002: 140–4)

For studio-recorded rap songs such as those analysed in this paper, the role of the DJ is undertaken by a producer, or a team of producers. In this way, a producer is akin to a composer. They select musical sounds to accompany the rapping performance and these are then integrated into a complete, coherent musical composition. The role of producer includes selecting rappers to collaborate with, often according to variables such as voice quality, speed, and rhythmic synchronicity.

Six rap artists were selected at random from a corpus of Kanye West rap songs. These are outlined in Table 3.1, including the artists name, the song title, album title and year of release.[4]

3.2 Visual representations of rhythmic synchronicity

The visual representations were constructed using a Praat (Boersma and Weenik 2008) spectrogram (see Figure 3.1).

Table 3.1 West's collaborators

Rapper	Song	Album	Year
Common	*Get 'Em High*	*The College Dropout*	2004
Jay-Z	*Get By (Remix)*	*(Akademics) – Jenius Level Musik Kanye West Vol. 2*	2003
Lil' Wayne	*Barry Bonds*	*Graduation*	2007
Lupe Fiasco	*Touch The Sky*	*Late Registration*	2005
Mos Def	*Two Words*	*The College Dropout*	2004
White Boy	*You Know*	*(Akademics) – Jenius Level Musik Kanye West Vol. 2*	2003

A spectrogram is essential for an accurate visual representation. It enables the analyst to easily and accurately measure the duration of a syllable or musical sound, as well as the 'space' between those sounds. The analyst simply highlights a segment of the spectrogram and the program will display the duration of that sound and play the sound for aural confirmation. The spectrogram also shows the realisation of the percussion, represented as a thin black line, from the top of the spectrogram downwards (see arrows in Figure 3.1). This makes the task of capturing rhythmic synchronicity easier and substantially more accurate than aural perception.

An example of the visual representation of rhythmic synchronicity that I have developed for my research is illustrated in Figure 3.2.

This visual representation illustrates the duration of the selected segment of rapping along the horizontal axis, usually around five seconds (shown as the time segment from the song). This equates to eight pulses, or two bars of 4/4 metred music (labelled in Figure 3.2). Like Martinec (2000), I use symbols to represent sound, including the verbiage. Symbols are useful because they can represent particular attributes of a sound and are easily manipulated to represent other variables such as loudness. In this case, the representation comprises two distinct symbols: an oval and an explosion. The oval represents a syllable, realized verbally. The explosion represents a pulse, usually realized by

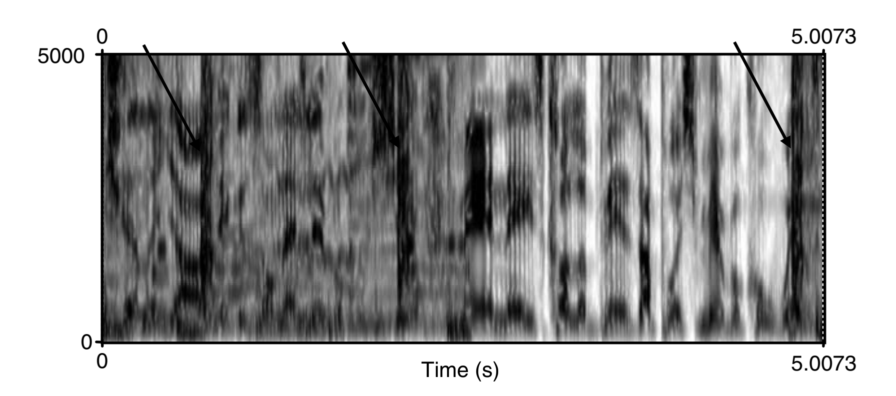


FIGURE 3.1 Praat spectrogram including percussion

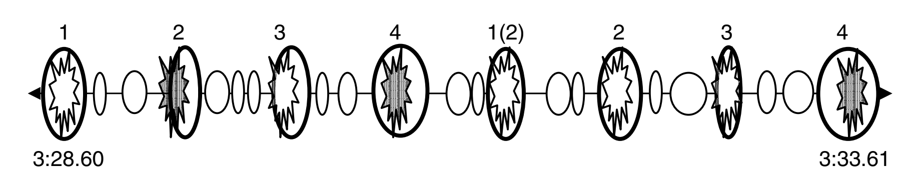


FIGURE 3.2 Kanye West (*Last Call* 2004)

some kind of synthesized percussion sound, hence the explosion symbol. The width of these symbols represents the duration of either the syllable or the musical sound. The vertical axis or height of the symbols represents salience; realized as loudness, pitch movement and duration, and only analysed here for the vocals. Unfortunately, the format of these audio recordings means that a computerized acoustic analysis of salience is not possible; the vocals cannot be separated from the musical accompaniment. Salience is therefore analysed according to the aural perception of the analyst. Two levels of salience are represented, distinguishing between the salient and the non-salient syllables. Moreover, salience is visually represented here as *relative* syllable prominence, that is, the height of the salient syllable will be determined by its prominence in relation to the non-salient syllable. If there is an extremely marked difference between the salient and non-salient syllable, then the oval shape is increased in height and line thickness. If the salience is not particularly marked, then the salient syllable is reduced in height (although higher than the non-salient syllable) and the line thickness is reduced. Finally, some of the explosion symbols in Figure 3.2 are shaded and others are not. The shading represents a pulse that is actually articulated by the instrumental support. The empty explosions represent non-articulated pulses, that is, where the percussion would be realized in accordance with the metre of the music. This enables analysts to visualize the extent to which the salient syllables articulate the pulse in place of the percussion. Importantly, the symbols are translucent which means that the vocals and percussion can overlap; capturing the aural 'reality' of synchronization. This is a development of Martinec's visual representations which have different tiers for each mode rather than locating them on the same axis.

3.3 The findings

The six rap artists can be generally classified into three groups according to their frequency of rhythmic synchronicity (see Figure 3.3).

The visual representations are presented and discussed according to those general groupings. Figures 3.4 and 3.5 illustrate the rhythmic synchronicity of Mos Def (2004) and White Boy (2003).

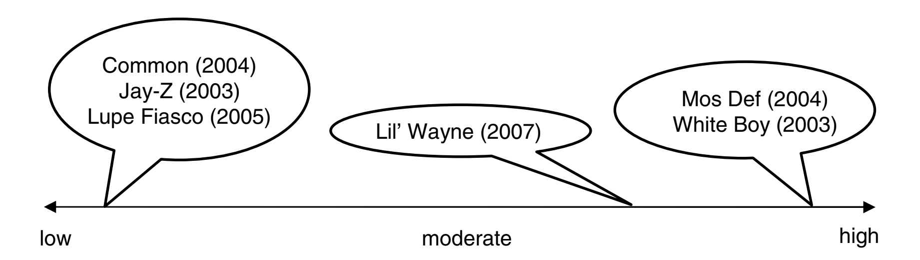


FIGURE 3.3 Cline of rhythmic synchronicity

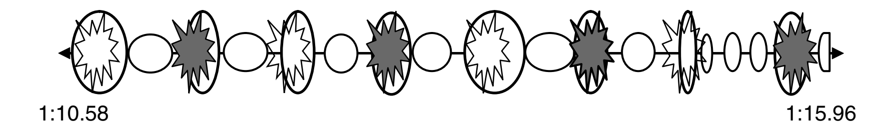


FIGURE 3.4 Mos Def (*Two Words* 2004)

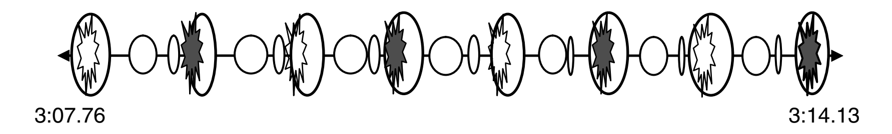


FIGURE 3.5 White Boy (*You Know* 2003)

The visual representations show that both Mos Def (2004) and White Boy (2003) are highly synchronized with the pulse. In fact, both rappers synchronize their salient syllables with *every* pulse. In addition, the salience can be perceived as especially pronounced. In other words, there is a marked difference between the loudness (and to a lesser extent duration and pitch movement) of the salient syllables and the non-salient syllables. The visual representations also show that both rappers express a regular pattern of salient and non-salient syllables. With the exception of the space between pulse 7 and 8, Mos Def's rhythmic feet comprise a regular pattern of one salient syllable to one non-salient syllable. In a similar way, White Boy's rhythmic feet comprise a regular pattern of one salient syllable to two non-salient syllables. The visual representations also show the exact length of the syllables and the space between, further illustrating rhythmic regularity. In the case of White Boy, the first non-salient syllable in each foot is consistently longer in duration than the second non-salient syllable and the timing of these syllables is almost identical for each foot.

Figures 3.6, 3.7 and 3.8 illustrate the rhythmic synchronicity of Common (2004), Jay-Z (2003) and Lupe Fiasco (2005).

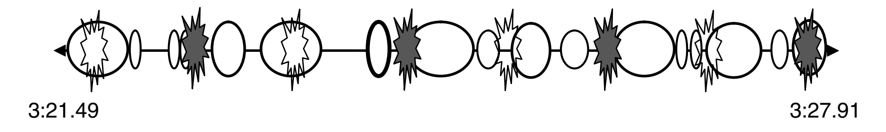


FIGURE 3.6 Common (*Get 'Em High* 2004)

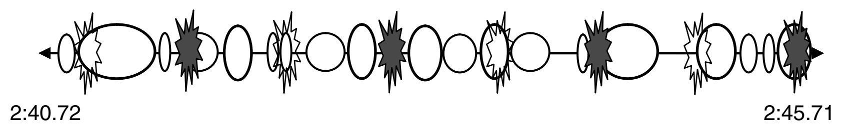


FIGURE 3.7 Jay-Z (*Get By* 2003)

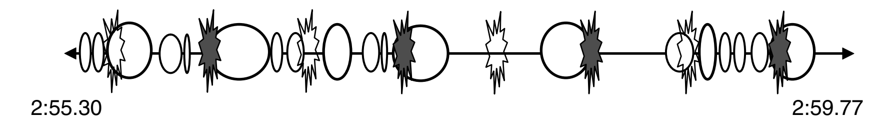


Figure 3.8 Lupe Fiasco (*Touch the Sky* 2005)

In stark contrast to the previous two examples, these rappers synchronize very few of their salient syllables with the pulse of the instrumental support. In total, all three rappers only synchronize three syllables with the pulse of the music. Both Common (2004) and Jay-Z (2003) synchronize one pulse with the actual instrumental support (pulse 8), while Lupe Fiasco (2005) synchronizes two (pulses 4 and 8). All three rappers synchronize with pulse 1 and pulse 8; the first and the last pulse of the extract. It is also worth noting that in many instances these rappers are very close to synchronizing their salient syllables with the musical pulse. However, these are not considered examples of true synchronization.[5] Unlike the previous two examples, the salient syllables are not particularly prominent and represented accordingly. What is also noticeable here is that the rappers do not have a regular rhythmic pattern for the entire eight pulses. Patterns do emerge in Common's rap (a foot comprising one salient syllable to one non-salient syllable; between pulses 4 and 5, 5 and 6, 7 and 8), as well as Lupe Fiasco's (a foot comprising one salient syllable to two non-salient syllables; between pulses 1 and 2, 2 and 3, 3 and 4), although in both cases the pattern is not maintained for longer than three pulses. While rhythmic regularization is not a prerequisite for rhythmic synchronicity, it is clearly a feature of the highly synchronized rappers discussed in Figures 3.5 and 3.6.

Figure 3.9 illustrates the rhythmic synchronicity of Lil' Wayne (2007).

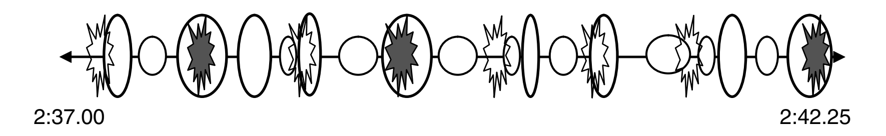


Figure 3.9 Lil' Wayne (*Barry Bonds* 2007)

The visual representation in Figure 3.9 shows that Lil' Wayne (2007) synchronizes five of his salient syllables: three with pulses that are articulated in the musical accompaniment (pulses 2, 4 and 8) and two that are not (pulses 3 and 6). Figure 3.9 locates Lil' Wayne between the pole of high synchronization and the middle of the cline. While his total frequency of synchronized syllables suggests a moderate level of rhythmic synchronicity, Lil' Wayne's prominence, and in particular the relative intensity of his salient syllables is far greater than Common (2004), Jay-Z (2003) or Lupe Fiasco (2005). In other words, he really 'hits' the pulse, much like Mos Def (2004) and White Boy (2007). Moreover, in contrast to the less synchronized rappers, all of Lil' Wayne's salient syllables

align well with the musical pulse, another feature of the highly synchronized rappers.

In summary, two distinct styles of rhythmic synchronicity were identified in the Kanye West corpus and captured with the visual representations: the highly synchronized and the non-synchronized.

4 Exploring Meaning, Individuation and Affiliation in Kanye West

4.1 Musical meaning and rapping identities

Before we consider the kinds of identity or persona that are construed through these rapping performances, it is necessary to understand how it is that musical sounds mean. And in terms of this chapter specifically, how does the interaction between voice and instrument mean?

Put very simply, the problem is this: sound, expressed here through voice and instrument, does not have a stratum of lexicogrammar (see Martin *this volume* for a model of stratification). Unlike language, there is no stratum in which sounds are recontextualized as words, phrases and clauses. As McDonald explains:

> . . . music lacks the 'double articulation' of language (Martinet 1960), in other words a distinction between distinctive patterning and significant patterning, whereby patterns of sounds meaningless in themselves are organized in meaningful patterns of wordings: more technically, it lacks a level of lexicogrammar, where discrete combinations of sounds are assigned meanings. (*forthcoming*: 15)

So what motivates musical meaning? Both van Leeuwen (1999) and McDonald (Callaghan and McDonald 2002, McDonald *forthcoming*) argue that musical meanings are afforded by their inherent materiality; their meaning derives from what one actually does to produce them.

> . . . our experience of what we physically have to do to produce a particular sound creates a meaning potential for that sound. For instance, we know that we can create tense sounds by tensing our articulatory musculature. We also know that we tend to do this in certain kinds of situation (when we are tense or 'charged up', or want to appear that way). Hence tense sound quality can come to be associated with aggression, repression, nervousness, excitement and so on. (Van Leeuwen 1999: 205)

McDonald (*forthcoming*) has pushed this further, drawing on notions of embodiment in semiotics and cultural studies to put forward a bi-stratal,

metafunctionally organized model of music as a social semiotic system.[6] While his specific recommendations regarding embodiment are beyond the scope of this chapter, in a general way at least, music meaning is understood here as an embodied meaning potential.

Thus, we can begin to allocate meaning potentials by simply describing what is occurring physically in the rapping performances. What physiological choices do these rappers make? What do these choices mean? And more specifically, what embodied meaning potentials can be assigned to the two different styles of rhythmic synchronicity identified in this chapter: the highly synchronized and the less synchronized.

From an embodied perspective, the vocal performance of the highly synchronized rappers (Mos Def, White Boy and Lil' Wayne) was 'forceful' and 'belligerent'. It requires exceptional vocal exertion to synchronize *every* salient syllable with the pulse of the music, particularly when those salient syllables are noticeably more prominent than the non-salient syllables, synchronized almost precisely with the pulse, and delivered at regular intervals. It is somewhat more difficult to assign embodied meanings to the less synchronized rappers (Common, Jay-Z, and Lupe Fiasco) because they are not antonymous with the attributes listed above. Rapping as a vocal performance, regardless of the degree of synchronicity, requires an inherently high degree of vocal exertion and control. The point is, from an embodied perspective, the less synchronized rappers are *less* 'forceful' and 'belligerent'. In a way, their vocal performance is more 'natural' and 'organic'. And this is highlighted in the visual representations. They synchronize their vocals with very few pulses; they do not express the same degree of syllable prominence and there is not the same degree of rhythmic regularization. It is more similar to everyday speech, at least relative to the highly synchronized rappers. Again, I do not wish to suggest here that the non-synchronized rappers are in some way less capable or efficient rappers. Syncopation requires a great deal of vocal control. The rapper has to avoid the pulse with irregular rhythmic patterns but then reconcile with the pulse at regular intervals.

So how are embodied 'meaning potentials' of the vocal performance related to the identity of the performer, if at all? Can we relate these same attributes to the performer? For example, do highly synchronized rappers such as Mos Def (2004) present a 'forceful', 'belligerent' identity? And do less synchronized rappers such as Lupe Fiasco (2005) present a more 'natural', 'organic' persona? At the very least, I think this is a useful starting point.

First, we need to recognize that the identities presented here are only one specific kind of identity. In Tracy's (2002) terms, these are 'personal identities'; the assigned meanings relate to the personality and characteristics of the rap artists, as opposed to their 'master identities' (such as gender and class) or 'relational identities' (such as friend and husband). In appraisal terms (Martin and White 2005), this also seems to relate to the 'fuzzy' boundary between judgement (evaluating people and their behaviour) and appreciation (evaluating

things, processes, entities) where the attributes naturally shift between appreciations of *something*: the embodied vocal performance, to judgements of *someone*: the embodied character or personality producing the vocal performance. DeNora's (2000) sociological account of music is especially relevant here. DeNora argues that music is a referent for realizing the character of other non-musical phenomena such as social circumstances, moods and identities. And like van Leeuwen (1999) and McDonald (*forthcoming*), DeNora argues that music's inherent materiality provides the resource for world building; in this case, the construction of identities.

> Here music is being used as a referent for the clarification of identity. A person is 'like' a particular type of musical material. In conversation with the daughter of a colleague who was describing a young man whom she thought looked too 'cool' for his role in some conventional, professional occupation, she said, 'he was like . . .' and here she paused as if searching for the right words. She then broke into a rhythmic execution to indicate the quality that she thought incongruous with his pinstriped suits. Here is an example where a conventional musical material – a rhythmic *topos* and its conventional connotations that I, as the recipient of this utterance, perceived (urban cool, drum and bass and so on) – serves as a framing device for the constitution of a portrayed identity. (DeNora 2000: 44)

This chapter has identified two distinct personal identities construed through the six rapping performances: the *enforcer* (the highly synchronized) and the *trickster* (the less synchronized).[7] These identities appear to foreground different character attributes. In the case of the *enforcer*, the physical capacity of the rapper is foregrounded. The vocal performance is 'forceful' and 'belligerent'; the rapper 'hits' the beat; he '(en)forces' himself on it. As such, those same embodied attributes relate quite well to the physical capacity of the performers themselves. They are 'brutal' and 'strong'. They are *enforcers*. The identity of the *trickster* however seems to foreground attributes to do with mental capacity. What is at stake is the rappers' capacity to rebel against and subvert the pulse. And while this clearly involves a high degree of vocal skill, it is the rappers' capacity to 'think outside' the predictable metre of the music and 'play' with the pulse. Here, the mental capacity of the rapper is foregrounded. They are 'clever' and 'playful'. They are *tricksters*.

4.2 Individuation, affiliation and Kanye West: some thoughts

So far I have discussed how these distinct rhythmic synchronicities come to mean through embodiment and how those meanings can relate to a particular personal identity. But this in itself tells us very little about Kanye West. What are the implications here in terms of his role as producer? And how might this

relate to his immense popularity? To explore this further, I will consider these findings, and Kanye West more generally, in terms of individuation and affiliation (see also Caldwell *forthcoming* for a related discussion). For a more detailed review of individuation and affiliation, including important issues of modelling and theorizing within SFL, see Knight (*this volume*).

Inspired by the sociology of Bernstein (1990, 1996), individuation is essentially concerned with modelling an individual's meaning potential in relation to the available meanings in their respective culture. For Martin (2006, 2008), individuation is a separate cline to instantiation and is modelled in Bernstein's terms; as a cline from the reservoir of meanings in a culture to the repertoire an individual has access to and includes the intermediate levels of personality type and coding orientation (see Figure 3.10).

This chapter is specifically interested in how West as producer can be understood in terms of the cline of individuation. There is no doubt that West, in his role as producer, has an immense repertoire of meanings. I have argued elsewhere (Caldwell *forthcoming*) that West draws on a vast and eclectic range of musical sounds, resulting in a meaning potential far greater than most of his contemporaries. The findings from this chapter help validate this further. West does not *exclusively* collaborate with rappers who express a particular kind of rhythmic synchronicity. West collaborates with the most extreme types of rhythmic synchronicity, including moderate synchronicities. And these have the potential to mean different things, different *identities*.

So in terms of characterizing West's individuation, we could simply say he has an immense semiotic repertoire. However, the issue is much more complex than that. These are not *West's* meanings as such. These are not his personas, *his* personal identity. The extent to which we can even formulate an identity for

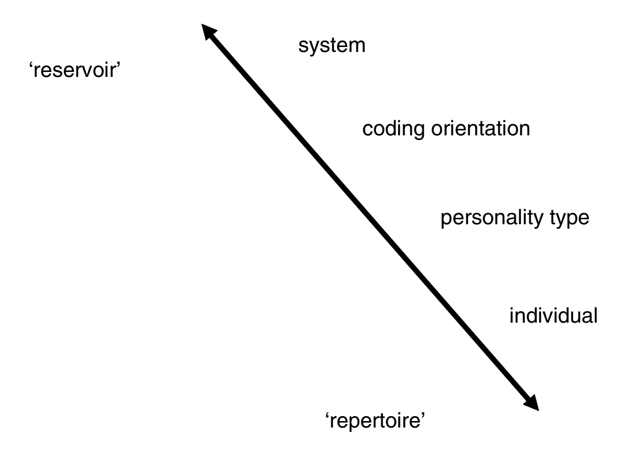


Figure 3.10 The cline of individuation (from Martin 2006: 294)

a producer such as West is problematic. In this case, the *enforcer* and *trickster* could only be considered part of West's individual repertoire if we incorporate intertextuality (see Caple *this volume* for a discussion) or 'sampling' (see Keyes 2002) into the model of individuation.

Assuming for a moment that these personal identities *do* comprise West's semiotic repertoire, then the sampling process has further implications for individuation. Semiotic analyses of producers such as West provide a useful data source by which personality types are relatable to specific individual repertoires. As producer, West's collaborators can be classified into two distinct personality types: the *enforcer* and the *trickster*. Like film and television producers, West does not simply choose particular individuals with specific attributes. He selects 'characters' from a more generalized set of personality types; working with a greater level of meaning potential.

Focusing on the upper-end of the cline of individuation, there is also the issue of coding orientation and how that relates to West as a producer. If we follow the basic premise that West's individual repertoire as producer is constructed by sampling from the repertoires of others, and that those repertoires vary greatly in the meanings they construe, then in Bernstein's terms (1990, 1996), West's coding orientation is characterized by a weak classification of contexts and roles. In other words, for West, contextual specialities and identities are ambiguous. His entry into the system of musical meanings, albeit through the sampling of others, is not restricted by strong classifications; what should or should not constitute the musical meanings of an African-American rap artist. West's social identity is organic; a post-modern self. In fact, West is *hyper* post-modern. He has publicly rejected ideological discourses such as social class, gender and ethnicity. He has been outspoken against homophobia in hip-hop culture and has even rejected a music award on the basis that it was in the category of 'urban' music which he considered to be stereotyping his music in terms of ethnicity. West's coding orientation is probably best explained by West himself: 'You know that saying: you can't be all things to all people? Well seriously, why not? I want to be all things to all people.' (Tyrangiel 2005: 8).

Affiliation (Knight 2008, *this volume*) describes the process by which we establish and negotiate our identities in discourse.

> [Affiliation is] a simultaneous process of bonding and identity negotiation, through which participants negotiate who they are based on what bonds they share. As participants achieve bonding, they are simultaneously identifying themselves as co-members of one community of values and not another. (Knight 2008: 487–488)

Knight (2008, *this volume*) has used laughter in casual conversation to identify the kinds of value or bond that are shared, or *not* shared, between participants. Those shared values are realized explicitly in the discourse semantics;

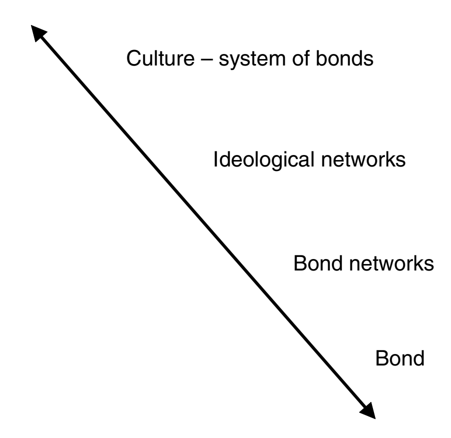


FIGURE 3.11 The cline of relations in affiliation (after Knight *this volume*)

as couplings of ideational and interpersonal meanings. And this provides great insight into the identity of the participants. It tells the participants, as well as the analyst, 'who I am' and 'what I value' by virtue of what I share. A cline of relations construed in the process of affiliation is presented in Figure 3.11.

At the lower end of the cline are the bonds realized in the text by couplings of ideational and interpersonal meanings, for example, the shared bond of beauty (interpersonal) and thinness (ideational). A cluster of these bonds then makes up larger sets of bond networks which Knight relates to Tracy's (2002) description of 'relational' and 'interactional' identities. So in the case of beauty and thinness, this might construe a young students' network. These then relate further up the cline again to more general ideological networks of class, gender, age, ethnicity and so on which Knight relates to Tracy's 'master' identities (and by which the classifications of 'young' and 'female' are further informed). At the top of the cline is *culture*; the complete system of bonds.

So what does this cline of affiliative relations reveal about Kanye West and his capacity to affiliate with a large and diverse range of consumers? Following Knight (personal communication 4 December 2008), it appears that West negotiates affiliation in a very different way to most rap artists. Because West expresses many distinct meanings, he is continually entering into new negotiations of affiliation in order to associate with different 'personal' bond networks. Compare for example the distinct embodied meaning potentials realized in the two styles of rhythmic synchronicity: 'belligerent' and 'organic'. Each time these attributes are realized in West's music, both the *enforcer* and *trickster* identities are presented as bonds to be shared by *all* the different kinds of bond network they appeal to: men, women, 'blacks', 'whites', homosexuals, heterosexuals, artists, athletes and so on. West personifies these identities and the audience communes around him accordingly. In Stenglin's (2004) terms,

Kanye West is a 'bondicon'. He is infused with a range of values or bonds which consumers can then share in.

What is particularly unique about West, and consistent with his coding orientation, is that the higher-level ideological networks are not reinforced or maintained. And this seems to be in contrast with other kinds of rap artist whose meanings, both musical and linguistic, consistently reinforce the higher-level ideological networks. Gangsta rap and hardcore rap are good examples in which the meaning potentials or bonds offered to consumers reinforce particular ideological networks (see Caldwell *forthcoming*, comparing the repertoires of Kanye West and 50 Cent). This helps explain why those styles of rap can be so polarizing; if you are not a particular ethnicity, gender or class, then you cannot share in the meanings being made.

West is clearly not '*all* things to all people'. However, West has achieved immense commercial success, much of which has been attributed to his capacity to affiliate with consumers outside the traditional hip-hop community. Affiliation shows that those who want to share in the meanings expressed by West *can* be whatever they want to be. They do not have to be African-American working-class men, or white, middle-class, teenage boys. In the case of rhythmic synchronicity alone, they can be both 'brutal' and 'clever'; an *enforcer* and a *trickster*.

5 Conclusion

This chapter has been especially, and quite deliberately ambitious in its scope. First, a new visual representation of rhythmic synchronicity was presented and applied to a small corpus of rap musicians. The findings were then analysed in terms of music semiotics; the embodied meaning potentials realized by the different types of rhythmic synchronicity. The discussion then shifted to the ways in which the rappers' musical sounds construe identities. In the final section, those findings were considered more generally in terms of the recent developments in individuation and affiliation and related to popular rap producer Kanye West. In covering so many issues however, the chapter has likely generated many more questions than it has answered. Aside from macro concerns such as modelling music semiotics in an SFL context (McDonald *forthcoming*), the vexed issue of embodiment (DeNora 2000), and the applicability of individuation and affiliation to modes of meaning other than language, the chapter raises specific methodological issues. The data analysed here was a small set, comprising very short instances of rhythmic synchronicity. This proved a useful heuristic to explore issues of musical meaning, individuation and affiliation. However, future similar analyses would need to 'tackle' larger data sets (see Bednarek *this volume*) so as to investigate other fundamental issues such as the logogenesis of a rapper's rhythmic synchronicity and the co-articulation across modes, systems and strata that make-up the complete rap

composition. Here, the work of Zappavigna et al. (*this volume*) and Zhao (*this volume*) is relevant.

In the context of SFL and multimodality, I hope this chapter has gone some way to increasing our collective interest in the semiotic power of music. For too long the role of the music analyst has been polarized; the music theorist describing musical patterns at the level of expression, or the social theorist investigating the implications of musical meaning at the level of context. There *is* however space for us to freely move between the levels of expression and culture. Semiotics enables this. Perhaps then, as multimodal discourse analysts, we need to be as ambitious as Kanye West and aim to be 'all things to all scholars'.

Notes

* I am grateful to Naomi Knight and Ed McDonald for reading a draft copy of this chapter, especially Knight's comments on individuation, affiliation and how these might relate to Kanye West.

[1] The term *music studies* includes popular music studies, musicology and ethnomusicology.
[2] Following van Leeuwen (1999), I use the terms 'pulse' and 'beat' synonymously.
[3] There are many approaches to phonology outside SFL (see Clark and Yallop 1990 for a detailed review).
[4] The full bibliographic details for each song are listed in the references, although the author is listed as 'West, K.' and not the collaborator.
[5] At least half of the syllable symbol must overlap with the percussive (explosion) symbol for it to be classified as an instance of synchronicity. This seems to be the threshold of synchronization; where the vocals are perceived as either anticipating or delaying the beat.
[6] An SFL metafunctional approach (e.g. Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 29–31) assumes that semiotic (e.g. linguistic) resources involve three kinds of meaning, called the ideational metafunction (construing experience), the interpersonal metafunction (enacting relationships) and the textual metafunction (ordering the discourse). See Martin (*this volume*), Tann (*this volume*) for further discussion.
[7] These 'identities' were suggested to me by Chris Cléirigh (personal communication 22 February 2008) and included a wonderful boxing analogy, comparing Mohammed Ali (as the *trickster*) and George Foreman (as the *enforcer*). This general distinction also seems to relate well to work in African-American cultural studies, such as Perkins' (1975) five personality types of street culture and Roberts' (1989) trickster and badman character types.

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Chapter 4

ข่าวหน้าหนึ่ง (*Khao naa nung*): A Multimodal Analysis of Thai-language Newspaper Front Pages

John S. Knox, Pattama Patpong and Yupaporn Piriyasilpa

1 Introduction

The mass media in Thailand are an important and powerful social institution, as they are in any nation state. In the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries, as Thailand has struggled to move further away from military intervention in politics and towards the power of the ballot box, the media, and newspapers in particular, have come to play an increasingly powerful role in the governance of the kingdom.

> The May 1992 events [where the unelected General Suchinda and his government were ousted and scores of unarmed civilians were shot dead by the military during mass protests] trained the Thai press in how to bring down governments, a trick that the press successfully repeated in 1995, 1996 and then 1997. (McCargo 2002: 33)

This remarkably overt illustration of the power of the Thai press – direct influence over public discourse to the point that governments stand or fall – raises the question of the role of the Thai press in public discourse, and how the media is positioned in relation to individuals, groups, and Thai society more broadly. It also raises the question of group membership, and the values around which the readership of Thai newspapers coalesce.

This chapter investigates the ways in which two newspapers signify the values they hold, and presumably share (to varying extents) with their respective communities of readers. This investigation employs tools from Systemic Functional (SF) theory, including lexicogrammatical analysis (e.g. Patpong 2006), appraisal analysis (e.g. Martin and White 2005), image analysis (e.g. Caple 2008, Economou 2008), and multimodal analysis of page design (e.g. Kress and van Leeuwen 1998).[1] The aim is to contribute to an understanding of the ways in which social bonds are developed and maintained between newspapers and their readers (cf. Caple *this volume*; Knox 2009). In the discussion of the implications of the

analysis, more recent developments in SF theory such as bonding (e.g. Stenglin 2004), individuation (e.g. Martin 2008, *this volume*), and affiliation (e.g. Knight *this volume*) are employed.

In the following section, the Thai media environment and the status of newspapers in Thailand are considered. Then, after a brief contextualization of a news event (the murder of nine minivan passengers in Southern Thailand), the front pages of two Thai newspapers from 15 March 2007 – the *ไทยรัฐ* (*Thairath*) and the *มติชน* (*Matichon*) – are analysed, with a specific focus on the front-page reports of the 'Southern minivan murders' news story. Finally, in light of developments in SF theory in the areas of instantiation, individuation, and affiliation, the implications of the front page analyses are considered.

2 The Print Media Environment in Thailand

The Thai press (unlike Thai radio and television which have a history of being under government and military control) have a long and robust history of critical social and political commentary in the face of hostile and often repressive governments (McCargo 2002, Phongpaichit and Baker 2002, Sulistiyanto 2002, McCargo and Pathmanand 2005, Lewis 2006). However, the press represents a variety of political, business, and social affiliations, and as often as not acts as much from self-interest as from an interest in democratization or human rights (McCargo 2000, 2002).

Literacy levels in Thailand contribute to defining the social roles of newspapers and the packaging of the news in Thailand (see McCargo 2000: 29). While UNICEF (2009) gives the adult literacy rate (those aged over 15 'who can read and write') as 93% in 2005, the fact that 38% of secondary school-aged males, and 34% of secondary school-aged females were not actually enrolled in secondary school in 2006 (UNICEF 2009) raises questions about the literacy practices and levels of a large portion of the Thai population (cf. Hasan 1996).

What this means for the press is that any 'mass-circulation' newspaper (such as the *Thairath*) must be accessible and of interest to an audience which ranges from university-educated readers with high levels of literacy, to readers who have had little or no formal education beyond primary level.

At the other end of the spectrum in terms of audience reach, the English-language press in Thailand (consisting in essence of the *Bangkok Post* and *The Nation*) has a readership which is limited by default to the educated, and relatively powerful portion of the population with high literacy levels in English.

In between, there are a number of Thai-language newspapers such as the 'serious' but popular *Matichon*, and Thai-language broadsheets such as the *ผู้จัดการรายวัน* (*Puucadkaan*) which target an elite, professional readership with high socio-economic status.[2] Figure 4.1 represents the target audience of some of the Thai newspapers discussed above, and Table 4.1 gives circulation figures.

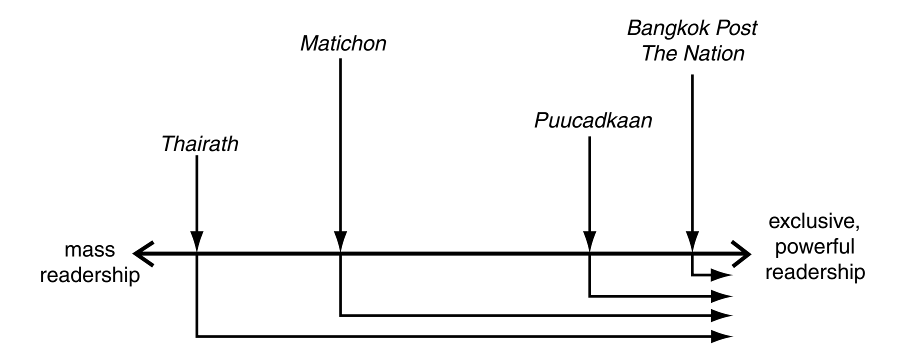


Figure 4.1 Thai newspapers and target audience

The *Thairath* was founded in 1962, and is tabloid in orientation. In addition to graphic front-page pictorial depictions of car accidents and murders, and sensational headlines which often make puns and even titillate readers in relation to violent crime, the *Thairath* includes analytical social and political commentary on its inside pages. In this way, it is accessible and appealing to readers who come to it with a range of literacy levels across social classes.

The *Matichon* was founded in 1977, and is less sensational than the *Thairath*, though it includes reports on local current events such as crimes, in addition to more 'highbrow' stories and features on topics such as politics, society, justice, economics, sports, education, and information technology. While its target readership differs to some extent from the *Thairath*, there is overlap between the two, and the high circulation figures of the *Matichon* indicate that it is also a significant player in the Thai media environment. Thus, these two high-circulation Thai dailies are both universally known and widely read in Thailand, yet they occupy different positions on the tabloid-broadsheet spectrum, and therefore provide an interesting comparison in terms of reporting and target readership.

3 The News Event

There has long been conflict in the South of Thailand between the local populace (predominately ethnic Malay and Muslim) and the armed forces of the Thai state. The three southern provinces of Yala, Pattani, and Narathiwat became part of Thailand in 1909, and the resistance that has recurred since then has been labelled 'separatist' since at least the 1970s (McCargo 2007a). After the 2001 election, in response to global and local factors, changes in government policy and practice were made by the government of the then prime minister, Thaksin Shinawatra. These changes included extrajudicial disappearances, and led to an intensification of the southern conflict, particularly since 2004 when the extent and degree of violence increased dramatically (see McCargo 2007b).

Table 4.1 Circulation of some Thai daily newspapers

Newspaper	Circulation	Year	Source
Thairath	1,000,000	2006	*Thairath* website, 2006
Matichon	600,000	2004	National Centre for Research on Europe
Puucadkaan	280,000	2004	National Centre for Research on Europe
Bangkok Post	80,000	2004	National Centre for Research on Europe
The Nation	50,000	2004	National Centre for Research on Europe

On 14 March 2007, an inter-provincial minivan was travelling from Betong (a town on the border with Malaysia) to Haad-Yai, a journey of approximately 250 km. The van was ambushed, and nine passengers were murdered, shot in the head at point blank range. This was a significant and shocking news event, even in the context of the ongoing conflict in Southern Thailand.[3]

The presentation of this story on the front pages of the two newspapers is discussed in the following two sections. The implications of the findings from the analysis for the development of a community of readers are subsequently considered.

4 *Thairath*

4.1 Language

Table 4.2 provides an English language translation of that part of the 'Southern minivan murders' news story appearing on the front page of the *Thairath* (see Appendix A for Thai text and detailed translation).

The entire 'Southern minivan murders' story runs much longer than that portion appearing on the front page. Thai hard-news stories have a flexible but predictable generic structure,[4] and begin with a **Highlight** stage (which gives the focal point of the story, indicates the social significance of the story, and uses headline language), followed by a number of other stages including one or more obligatory **Reports** (which detail events) and optional stages such as **Reactions** (which include extended quotes from prominent persons reacting to the events in reports) (see Knox and Patpong 2008).

That part of the text of the 'Southern minivan murders' story which appears on this front page is the highlight stage of the text, which engages readers with this particular story, with the front page of the newspaper, and also therefore with the entire text of this edition of the newspaper. This is not unique to Thai news: the structure of news stories and the larger texts they collectively comprise (e.g. newspapers, broadcast news bulletins) has evolved across cultures to move the most important part of the story to the front of the text, even though the rhetorical structure of different news genres can vary considerably (Iedema, Feez and White 1994; Thomson and White 2008). In this case, the verbal

Table 4.2 English translation of 'Southern minivan murders' story from front page of *Thairath*, 15 March 2007

main text	Southern bandits blitz minivan 9 dead Shot in head point blank, one by one **Another one fatally injured. Mobbed and killed in cold blood. Begged for their lives, but no mercy shown. Many provinces condemn totally** Southern bandits have massacred 9 villagers in one hit, switching targets and sneakily attacking a passenger minivan travelling from Betong district, Yala province to Haadyai district [. . .] continued page 17
caption one	**Victim of cruelty:** Officials, soldiers and police move the bodies of the dead and injured from a passenger minivan of Betong Tour, registered in Yala with license plate 10–0975. Bandits used felled trees to block the road, forcing the van down an embankment. They shot repeatedly. The dead and injured totalled 10 in Yala. The victims were rushed to hospital where medical staff attended to them urgently.
caption two	**Brutal killing:** Pictured are minivan passengers sneakily attacked by Southern bandits. The bandits used military weapons to spray the van with bullets, forcing it down an embankment. They followed and shot the passengers in the head point blank, one by one. Nine were killed and one injured on the Bannungsta-Yaha Road, Patae Zone, Yaha District, Yala Province.

construction of the news story works together with the visual construction of the front page to capture the readers' attention and provide a number of 'entry points' to the front page, and to the entire newspaper.

As Table 4.3 illustrates, captions on Thai-language newspaper front pages have their own generic structure, consisting of:

- an optional **Prosodic Tail** (Caple 2008) which appears at the beginning of the caption (sometimes in bold font) as a minor clause, evaluates the events/participants depicted in the image, and typically includes evaluative language/appraisal; followed by
- an obligatory **Rendition**, which is essentially a verbal description of the visual text characterized by 'intersemiotic repetition' (Royce 2002) between image and language (e.g. Participants and Processes in the verbal text 're-state' Participants and Processes in the image) and typically by a lack of appraisal; followed by
- an optional **Background**, which provides details of the related story that go beyond what is shown in the image, and often includes appraisal.

Turning to the grammar of the story, the three metafunctions of systemic functional theory (see Martin *this volume*, Tann *this volume*) will be examined one by one. The ideational metafunction, by which experience is construed

Table 4.3 Generic structure of (translated) captions from *Thairath* and *Matichon* front pages, 15 March 2007

Stage	***Thairath* caption 1**	***Thairath* caption 2**	***Matichon* (main) caption 1**	***Matichon* (inset) caption 2**
Prosodic Tail (optional)	Victim of cruelty	Brutal killing	Most brutal	
Rendition (obligatory)	Officials, soldiers and police move the bodies of the dead and injured from a passenger minivan of Betong Tour, registered in Yala with license plate 10–0975.	Pictured are minivan passengers cunningly attacked by Southern bandits.	Officials move 8 bodies from the Betong - Haadyai minivan [. . .]	Forensic officials from Region 45 Yala inspect the van in which the incident occurred on the 14th of March.
Background (optional)	Bandits used felled trees to block the road, forcing the van down an embankment. They shot repeatedly. The dead and injured totalled 10 in Yala. The victims were rushed to hospital where medical staff attended to them urgently.	The bandits used military weapons to spray the van with bullets, forcing it down an embankment. They followed and shot the passengers in the head point blank, one by one in a brutal fashion. Nine were killed and one injured on the Bannungsta-Yaha Road, Patae Zone, Yaha District, Yala Province.	[. . .] after evil persons shot them point blank through in the head, one by one, resulting in their deaths. The incident occurred on Ban Ubeng Road, Moo 4, Patae Zone, Yaha District, Yala province.	

grammatically as Participants, Processes and Circumstances, and the textual metafunction, by which the grammar of clauses contributes to creating coherence and cohesion in a text through the Theme-Rheme structure, are discussed. Then the interpersonal metafunction, by which relations between writer and reader are construed, is discussed (Halliday and Matthiessen 2004; Patpong 2006). Following this, interpersonal meaning in the discourse ('above' the level of grammar – see Martin and White 2005; Martin and Rose 2007) is discussed.

As might be expected, the ideational lexicogrammar of the 'Southern minivan murders' news story and captions features concrete human Participants such as *โจรใต้* (*Southern bandits*), *เจ้าหน้าที่ทหารและตำรวจ* (*officials, soldiers and police*), and *ศพผู้ตาย* (*bodies of the dead*), as well as inanimate concrete Participants such as *รถตู้โดยสาร* (*passenger minivan*) in clauses featuring mostly material Processes. The two verbal Processes construe the acts of the victims begging for their lives (*ร้องขอชีวิต – [passengers] cry request life*), and of public condemnation of the killings (*หลายจว.ประณามยับ – many provinces condemn totally*). Textually, all clauses have unmarked Themes, and there are three conjunctions used (*ขณะ – while*; *จน – until*; *แล้ว – and then*), all temporal enhancing.

Turning to the interpersonal metafunction, all major clauses are declarative (reflecting the contextual 'tenor' variable concerned with the construal of role relationships between participants, with the institution of the newspaper playing the role of provider of information to the reader). There is no modality, which contributes to the construal of a factual stance on the part of the newspaper, and the single instance of negative polarity in the story and captions is the killers' refusal to show mercy to the victims:

(Ø = คน) ร้องขอชีวิต (Ø = โจรใต้) ยังไม่เว้น
(passengers) cry request life (bandit) but not except.
(Appendix A)

Moving 'above' the level of grammar, on the *Thairath* front page, evaluations are made in the stories using the discourse-semantic system of appraisal (whereby attitudes are expressed and evaluations made) (Martin and White 2005), and these position the newspaper and the reader in relation to the events depicted, and to one another. In the 'Southern minivan murders' story, inscribed (or explicit) and invoked (or implicit) negative judgment (a subsystem of appraisal in which evaluations of human behaviour are made) (Martin and White 2005) of the killers and their actions is made by the newspaper, as illustrated in Tables 4.4 and 4.5 respectively.

Inscribed judgment (Table 4.4) involves the use of lexis which can be classified as evaluative. For example the term *โจร* (*bandit*) in clause 1, *สังหาร* (*massacre*) in clause 9, and *อำมหิต* (*brutal*) in clause 24 all carry a negative meaning for the act or actor to whom they are attributed. In this way, the judgements made are explicit.

Table 4.4 Inscribed judgement in the 'Southern minivan murders' story and captions, *Thairath* front page, 15 March 2007

Section	Clause	Text	Morpheme-by-morpheme gloss	Appraised	Appraiser
story	1	โจร	bandit	bandits	*Thairath*
	4	รุมฆ่าอย่างเลือดเย็น	mobbed killed style cold blood	bandits	*Thairath*
	9	สังหารหมู่ชาวบ้านรวดเดียว 9 ศพ	massacre villagers in one go together 9 [classifier]	bandits	*Thairath*
	11	ลอบโจมตีรถตู้โดยสาร	sneakily attack a passenger minivan	bandits	*Thairath*
caption 1	15	เหยื่อทมิฬ	victim cruelty	bandits	*Thairath*
caption 2	24	ฆ่าอำมหิต	kill brutal	bandits	*Thairath*
	25	กลุ่มโจรลอบโจมตี	group bandits sneakily attack	bandits	*Thairath*
	28	จ่อยิงหัวทีละคนอย่างเหี้ยมโหด	point shoot head one at a time style brutal	bandits	*Thairath*

Table 4.5 Invoked judgement in the 'Southern minivan murders' story and captions, *Thairath* front page, 15 March 2007

Section	Clause	Text	Morpheme-by-morpheme gloss	Appraised	Appraiser
story	1	ถล่ม	blitz	bandits	*Thairath*
	3	จ่อยิงหัวทีละคน	point shoot head one at a time	bandits	*Thairath*
	6–7	ร้องขอชีวิตยังไม่เว้น	(passengers) cry request life (bandits) but not except	bandits	*Thairath*
caption 1	18	ดักยิงถล่ม	snipe blitz	bandits	*Thairath*
	19	จ่อยิงซ้ำ	point shoot repeat	bandits	*Thairath*
	22	ส่งโรงพยาบาล	take (the injured) to hospital	officials	*Thairath*
	23	ช่วยชีวิตเร่งด่วน	help lives quickly immediately	medical staff	*Thairath*
caption 2	26	ใช้อาวุธปืนสงครามกราดยิงถล่ม	use weapon gun war sweepingly shoot blitz	bandits	*Thairath*

Invoked judgement (Table 4.5) serves to evaluate actors and their actions more implicitly, with reference to a value system. In the current case, the Thairath is drawing on a value system where killing and violence is viewed negatively, so that the act of จ่อยิงหัวทีละคน (shoot in head point blank one by one) in clause 3 implies (or technically, invokes) a negative judgement of those who committed the act. It is plausible (however unappealing) to posit alternative value systems where such an act might be viewed positively, such as among

a community of assassins or mercenaries, or among workers entrusted with killing animals infected with a dangerous virus as quickly and painlessly as possible. By considering such alternative (if unlikely) readings of such a phrase, it is possible to see that the negative judgement it carries relies on a shared value system between author and reader in order to work, and is therefore invoked rather than inscribed (see Bednarek 2006: 45–8 for a consideration of the different clines along which value systems can align or clash).

The *Thairath* uses a combination of invoked and inscribed judgement and establishes a negative evaluation of the murders and those who committed them from the outset of the story. Whether reading the headline, the story, or either of the captions first, the reader is positioned to side with the newspaper and against the killers in reading the *Thairath*'s account of this event (see Knox and Patpong 2008: 183–5; Martin and White 2005: 95).[5]

Linguistically, the front page of the *Thairath* presents this story as a dramatic incident. This is achieved in part by including only the Highlight stage on the page. Additionally, each of the captions includes a Prosodic Tail, and a Background which repeats details from the story such as the death toll (Captions 1 and 2), the repeated shooting (Captions 1 and 2), and the shooting of the victims in the head at point-blank range (Caption 2). The events are presented as factual, unmodalized accounts, and this contributes to validating the *Thairath*'s evaluation of the events and actors. Inscribed authorial judgement combines with invoked authorial judgement to make the position of the *Thairath* in relation to the events, and the expected position of the reader, plain: the murders and those who committed them are seen as abhorrent and 'inhuman' (a term actually used later in the story).

4.2 Image

Visually, the photographic depiction of the 'Southern mini-van murders' story on the *Thairath* front page provides 'evidence' to support the events reported in the verbal text of the news story (see Barthes 1977; Hall 1981; Huxford 2001). There are two images in this news story (no other story on this page has more than one image). The first to be discussed here is in the top-right corner of the page (Figure 4.2), and portrays the body of a victim being carried from the van by four men, all of whom appear to be members of the armed forces (see first caption in Table 4.3). The image is effective as an action shot in which all the participants are moving towards a space located beyond the frame of the image, and together with the verbal text in the caption, headline, and story, and also the other image on the page, it is clear that a body is being moved from the van in which the victims were travelling (in the background of the image). This image shows that the newspaper was 'on the scene' and 'amongst the action', not for the actual murders but for the aftermath when the bodies were moved.

The second image, on the left of the page (Figure 4.2) shows the bodies of the victims laid on the road, and uses the compositional technique of serialization (see Caple *under examination*) to represent the human impact of the shooting, and the scale and extent of the violence. It gives the reader a 'first hand' visual account of the 'brutality' of the event. It is also possible to read the two images as a sequence which adds to the impact of the story. The sequence begins with the top image, moving the bodies out of the van, to the left and down to the second image, laying the bodies on the road: a correspondence between the visual 'moving the bodies one by one', and the verbal reports of 'shooting one by one'.

The two images share what Economou (2008) calls visual record key. Visual record key refers to:

> highly constrained evaluative options that contribute to creating the rhetorical effect of 'factuality' and objectivity and, thus, the backgrounding of authorial subjectivity . . . They are captioned, naturalistic, visual depictions of some material reality. (Economou 2008: 257)[6]

Such images, depicting actual scenes and actors, typically from the location of an event after it has taken place (though ideally depicting the event itself) attest to the 'truth' of the reported event, and the authority of the newspaper as a witness and reliable source (cf. Barthes 1977; Hall 1981; Huxford 2001). In this way, they lend credibility to any judgements that the newspaper may pronounce on the event (e.g. *brutal*), while simultaneously 'taking the reader there' and making the event visibly tangible. This works with the 'factual' verbal reporting of events as described above to validate the negative judgement in the caption and the story.

In this way, the verbal reports and images work together to construe the factuality of the news report. This factuality is produced in linguistic choices, in the choices made in the authoring of the images, and in the multisemiotic meaning of text and image working together.

4.3 Page design

In addition to analysing the verbal text and the images in the 'Southern mini-van murders' story as acts of meaning, the front page of the *Thairath* itself is also a multimodal sign, and the 'minivan murders' story is read in relation to the page and the other texts on it. The front page of the *Thairath* from 15 March 2007 is shown in Figure 4.2. Figure 4.3 shows a 'visual translation' of the same front page with headlines and partial captions translated into English.

The 'Southern minivan murders' story is the dominant one on this front page. The headline is arguably the most visually salient element on the page. It is the largest element spatially (the second and third largest visual elements



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เปมิกาจุกอีก
ขาดสอบ3วิชา

คณบดีชี้ลูกศิษย์
ยังคงสภาพนิสิต
ต้องรอศาลก่อน

จุฬาฯยัน คงสถานภาพนิสิต สาว "เปมิกา วีรชัยรักษ์" อดีตลูกศิษย์ใกล้ชิดหมอประกิต-เผ่า รอฟังผล ★ มีต่อหน้า 15

ขนสินสอด
พนันบอลเจ๊ง
ฆ่าตัวตาย

เจ้าบ่าวทาสพนันเครียดจนปัญญา
แอบหนีไปแขวนคอกับต้นมะม่วง

ว่าที่เจ้าบ่าวตกเป็นทาสพนันบอล ต้องสังเวยชีวิตผูกคอตายวันวิวาห์ หลังเอาเงิน ★ มีต่อหน้า 15

ลวงฆ่า2ศพ
แม่ค้าพลอย
ฉกไป8แสน

ลวงฆ่าอำมหิตแม่ค้าพลอย ★ มีต่อหน้า 19

โจรใต้ถล่มรถตู้
ตาย9ศพ
จ่อยิงหัวทีละคน

จับหนุ่มใหญ่บ้ากาม
ลวง3ดญ.ข่มขืนนับปี
แม่พาตร.บุกลากคอ

3 เด็กหญิงตกเป็นเหยื่อกาม ถูกหนุ่มใหญ่อาชีพเก็บของเก่าข่มขืนนานร่วมปี ผู้เสียหาย 2 คนแรกเป็น ★ มีต่อหน้า 16

บาดเจ็บปางตายอีก1
รุมฆ่าอย่างเลือดเย็น
ร้องขอชีวิตยังไม่เว้น
หลายจว.ประณามยับ

โจรใต้สังหารหมู่ชาวบ้านรวดเดียว 9 ศพ เบนเป้าหันมาลอบโจมตีรถตู้โดยสาร ขณะวิ่งออกจาก อ.เบตง จ.ยะลา ไปส่งปลายทาง อ.หาดใหญ่ ★ มีต่อหน้า 17

หัวเขียว

พิษควันไฟ
พัง2พันล้าน

พระราชินีทรงห่วงใย

ชาวเมืองเหนือยังสำลักควันพิษจากไฟป่า หลายจังหวัดเริ่มเข้าสู่วิกฤติ แถมมีผู้ป่วยโรคทางเดินหายใจกันมาก ขณะที่หน้ากากมี ★ มีต่อหน้า 17

หน้า 1
ป่วยโรคจิตไม่ใช่บ้า
5 นาที! ก็บำบัดได้

ฮือ...ล้อมรง.ชูรส

ชาวบ้านนำ'แบ็กโฮ'ขุด
พบท่อลงแม่น้ำมีกลิ่น
รองผวจ.ขอตรวจก่อน

ม็อบเกษตรกรปลากระชัง ฮือปิดล้อมโรงงานผลิตผงชูรส หาต้นตอน้ำเน่าปลาตายหลังนำรถแบ็กโฮขุดพบ ★ มีต่อหน้า 12

อัยการฟ้อง
พจมาน-บรรณพจน์

คดีเลี่ยงภาษีขายหุ้น
วินัยแฉแผนล้มรธน.

อัยการมีความเห็นให้สั่งฟ้อง "พจมาน-บรรณพจน์" ฐานร่วมกันหลีกเลี่ยงภาษีหุ้นชินวัตรคอมพิวเตอร์ ★ มีต่อหน้า 10

FIGURE 4.2 Front page of *Thairath*, 15 March 2007



FIGURE 4.3 Partial 'visual translation' of *Thairath* front page, 15 March 2007

are the two images from this story), has the largest font size, and is also the only white-on-black text block (and for these reasons is signified as the 'leading' story). It consists of six distinct visual units (one headline 'block', one story 'block', two images, and two captions – see further discussion below). Therefore, while it is not possible to predict what stories readers will and will not focus on in reading the front page of the *Thairath*, it is possible to say that the authors of this page have valued this story more highly than any other, and that it stands a better chance than most of being noticed and read by the newspaper's audience.

In total, there are 30 *visual* units on the page (or blocks, each of which contains image or text – see Figure 4.2), and these combine into 14 *textual* units (one masthead, and 12 news stories) each of which consists of one or more visual units. Textual units on the page are texts (e.g. advertisement, masthead, news story) which consist of one or more visual units (such as the 'Southern minivan murders' story, or the 'Pemika' story which consists of four visual units: a 'headline' block, a 'sub-head and lead' block, an image 'block', and a caption 'block').

Following Kress and van Leeuwen (1998, 2006), the visual organization of these elements is an act of meaning (see also Barnhurst and Nerone 2001) which can be described in terms of the way that it portrays a version of 'the way things are' (ideational meaning); the way in which it mediates the relationship between the authors, readers, and content of the newspaper (interpersonal meaning); and the way in which it organizes the elements into a coherent composition (textual meaning).

Ideationally, the boundaries between the *visual* units are made clear primarily by different coloured backgrounds, but font size and font colour also contribute. The boundaries between *textual* units on the page, however, are not distinguishable without reference to the semiotic system of language. For instance, there are six visual units which make up the single textual unit of the 'Southern minivan murders' story analysed above (two images, two captions, the large white headline against a black background, and a smaller black sub-head and lead against a grey background). Apart from the small arrows in the captions pointing to their related pictures (graphological and therefore arguably linguistic units), there is no visual signification (e.g. borders, spacing, distinct font or background) to relate the elements which combine to construe this story, nor to suggest they are not related to other elements on the page (see Figures 4.2 and 4.3). For the most part, the viewer of the page who is not literate in Thai has no way of knowing which headlines are related to which sub-heads/stories, or are related to which images. There is no apparent systematic organization of the visual units on the page into textual units.[7]

Concerning visual elements in this newspaper it is also interesting to note that the layout of the front page of the *Thairath*, including the position of the masthead, changes from day to day. The mix of font colours and sizes, of background colours, and of the size and shape of visual units combine with the

daily-changing configuration of the page to construe a reality with no fixed order. Individual stories are represented as part of a cacophony of actors and events which, if not chaotic, is at least random and unpredictable. This visual representation of the news is consistent with the verbal content of headlines, which highlight events of personal and public disruption and crisis, such as (on this front page) *ฆ่าตัวตาย* (*commit suicide*), *ลวง* (*deceive*), *ฆ่า* (*kill*), *ถล่ม* (*blitz*), *จ่อหัวยิง* (*shoot in head point blank*), *ข่มขืน* (*rape*), and *ฮือ* (*stampede*). The body count on this front page alone is 14, with three rape victims, many injured, and over 2,000 million affected by toxic smoke. Villagers have blockaded a polluting factory, and there is a plan to overthrow the constitution. And as if that were not enough, the starlet Pemika has missed three exams, and the singer Dome has announced his desire to marry his girlfriend Ploy. 15 March 2007: just another day in the world of the *Thairath*.

Interpersonally, the characteristic green of the *Thairath*, instantly recognizable in this context, identifies the familiar and well-known newspaper. In terms of the visual construal of the stance of the newspaper, the design of the page positions the reader 'front-on' to the page. There is no subjective perspective, as would be the case if, for example, the page were designed to simulate a three-dimensional appearance, with some elements appearing 'closer' to the reader, and others 'further away' through the use of angled borders, skewed planes, overlapping, or other similar devices (Kress and van Leeuwen 2006). This objective visual perspective contributes to the factual stance of the newspaper: while the *Thairath* has attitude (see above), the complex of events on the front page is presented visually as a factual collection of accounts from a shocking, sensational world.

Textually, the composition of the page has no clear point of departure for the reader, no clear 'reading path'. There are no *Ideal-Real*, *Given-New*, *Centre-Margin*, or *MacroTheme-Rheme* structures realizing choices in the system of **information value** (see Kress and van Leeuwen 1998; cf. Baldry and Thibault 2006; Knox 2007). Different elements on the page have different salience according to their size, background colour, font size, font colour, and use of text or image. While it may be possible to argue for some kind of hierarchy of salience on individual front pages, the changeable nature of the size and shape of visual units, and the different ways they can be combined into textual units, means that the overall compositional effect affords dynamic, diverse reading paths according to the specifics of a given page on a given day, and to the interests of readers as they encounter each edition.

In combination, the semiotic resources of language, image, colour, and layout combine on the front page of the *Thairath* to construe a world of unpredictability and instability in a factual but interpersonally engaging manner. Whether one finds the particular multimodal mix of the *Thairath* entertaining, repulsive, terrifying, or unbelievable, it tells a compelling tale, which an audience constituting a broad cross-section of Thai society seems eager to follow as it unfolds daily.

In the instance of the 'Southern minivan murders' news story, the visual and verbal construal contributes to the ongoing representation of the world as an unpredictable place liable to crisis and disruption, and the maintenance of the relationship between newspaper and readership in which the newspaper reports events factually, and provides 'shared' evaluation of actors and actions reported. In the chaotic reality construed by the *Thairath*, there are brutal, cold-blooded Southern bandits who commit inhuman crimes, and who co-exist with sex-crazed youths, suicidal gamblers, murdering thieves, pop stars, and of course the readers of the *Thairath*.

5 *Matichon*

Having considered the reporting of the 'Southern minivan murders' story on the front page of the *Thairath*, we now turn to the reporting of the same event on the front page of the *Matichon*. Once again, we look first at the language of the story, followed by the use of images, and then consider the semiotics of the design of the *Matichon* front page.

5.1 Language

Table 4.6 shows an English translation of that part of the 'Southern minivan murders' news story that appears on the front page of the *Matichon* of 15 March 2007 (see Appendix B for Thai text and detailed translation).

Table 4.6 English translation of 'Southern minivan murders' story from front page of *Matichon*, 15 March 2007

main text	Most brutal! Shot in head point blank, one by one 8 dead **Yala - Haadyai minivan passengers** **Citizens across the country jointly condemn** Brutal Southern bandits shot and killed 8 passengers, and injured another two travelling in a minivan on the Betong - Haadyai route. They felled trees and scattered nails on the road to block the route. The driver revealed that the evil people were dressed in military uniforms. Read on page 12.
caption one	**Most brutal:** Officials move 8 bodies from the Betong - Haadyai minivan after evil persons shot them point blank through in the head, one by one, resulting in their deaths. The incident occurred on Ban Ubeng Road, Moo 4, Patae Zone, Yaha District, Yala province.
caption two	(Inset) Forensic officials from Region 45 Yala inspect the van in which the incident occurred on the 14th of March.

Like the *Thairath*, the *Matichon* front page shows the Highlight stage of the story, and other stages (such as the Summary, Reports, and Reactions) follow on page 12 of the newspaper. As shown earlier, the captions have the same generic structure as those in the *Thairath*, though in the *Matichon* only one of the captions has all three stages of **Prosodic Tail**, followed by **Rendition**, followed by **Background**. The caption for the second, inset photograph has only the obligatory stage of Rendition (see Table 4.3).

There is a clear lexicogrammatical similarity between the *Thairath* and *Matichon* reports. Like the *Thairath* story, the *Matichon* story features concrete Participants including humans (e.g. *โจรใต้อำมหิต – brutal Southern bandits*; *ผู้โดยสารรถตู้ – minivan passengers*; *เจ้าหน้าที่ – officials*) and inanimate objects (*รถตู้ – minivan*; *ปืน – gun*; *ตะปู – nails*) appearing in mostly material Processes (e.g. *ยิง – shoot*; *ดัก – block*; *ลำเลียง – transfer*). Two verbal Processes are used to report the minivan driver's account (*เผย – reveal*) and the national response condemning the murders (*ประณาม – condemn*). All major clauses have unmarked Themes, and the two conjunctions (*หลัง – after*; *จน – until*) are both temporal, enhancing. All major clauses are declarative (apart from the link to the rest of the story on page 12), and polarity in all clauses is positive.

In terms of appraisal, the *Matichon* uses fewer instances of judgement in its front-page portion of the story than the *Thairath* (and this is also true when comparing the complete stories from each newspaper). As shown in Table 4.7, the *Matichon* uses two instances of the term *อำมหิต* (*brutal*), one of *โหด* (*brutal*), two of *ร้าย* (*evil*), and one of *โจร* (*bandit*). The positioning of these instances of appraisal in the text is, however, significant, with the initial use of the term *brutal* coming in the screamer headline at the very beginning of the story: *สุดอำมหิต!* Further, the force of this term in this instance is increased by the use of the Modifier (*สุด – most*), the use of an exclamation mark (a borrowing from English),[8] and the use of a large font type for this purely evaluative minor clause (see Figure 4.4). In this way, graduation – where evaluative meanings are scaled up or down (Martin and White 2005) – is realized both multilingually and multimodally in this headline.

Table 4.7 Inscribed judgement in the 'Southern minivan murders' story and captions, *Matichon* front page, 15 March 2007

Section	Clause	Text	Morpheme-by-morpheme gloss	Appraised	Appraiser
story	1	สุดอำมหิต!	most brutal!	bandits	Matichon
	5	โจรใต้อำมหิต	bandit Southern brutal	bandits	Matichon
	12	คนร้าย	persons evil	bandits	minivan driver
caption 1	14	สุดโหด	most brutal	bandits	Matichon
	16	คนร้ายใช้ปืนจ่อ ยิงศรีษะทีละราย	person evil use gun point shoot head one at a time	bandits	Matichon

In terms of positioning, the single instance of invoked judgement in the second clause of the headline (*จ่อยิงหัวทีละคน – shot in head point blank, one by one*) maintains the negative prosody (i.e. cumulative colouring) established by the judgement in the initial headline together with the inscribed judgement in the beginning of the lead in clause 6 (*โจรใต้อำมหิต – brutal Southern bandits*) and the large-font Prosodic Tail at the beginning of the two captions (*สุดโหด – most brutal*). In combination, these position both the newspaper and the reader in relation to the events and actors in the remainder of the story: the newspaper explicitly evaluates those who committed the murders negatively. In addition, the sub-head (*มวลชนทั่ว 'ปท.' ร่วมประณาม – citizens across nation jointly condemn*) uses the appraisal sub-system of engagement, or the 'sourcing [of] attitudes and the play of voices around opinions in discourse' (Martin and White 2005: 35), to align the newspaper with citizens nationwide, positioning readers as either 'with the citizens' or 'with the bandits' (in a similar way to the *Thairath* story's sub-head: *หลายจว.ประณามยับ – many provinces condemn totally*). Combined, the use of appraisal in this story represents a considerable amount of interpersonal positioning of the newspaper and the reader in relation to the content of the story in general, and to the bandits in particular.

The *Matichon* is positioned closer to the 'broadsheet' end of the spectrum than the *Thairath*, and the inscribed authorial judgement in the front-page portion of the 'Southern minivan murders' story shows that the typical pattern of evaluative language, or evaluative key, found in Thai-language broadsheets differs from that typical in English-language broadsheets (Martin and White 2005; White and Thomson 2008).

Linguistically, the *Matichon*'s front page reporting of the 'Southern minivan murders' news story has many similarities with that of the *Thairath*. The reporting is unmodalized and presented as factual, yet the presentation of the Highlight of the story and the use of appraisal resources dramatize the report, and position the newspaper and reader in relation to the events reported. There is a clear expectation that the reader will 'read along' with the newspaper and with 'citizens nationwide', 'condemning' the 'brutal' act and the 'bandits' who committed it.

5.2 Image

Visually, the *Matichon* front page uses two images in the 'Southern minivan murders' story, the smaller inset in the top right corner of the larger (Figure 4.4). The larger of the two front-page images in this story depicts the bodies laying on the road – the same scene as shown in the second of the Thairath's photographs. The Matichon image, however, is taken from a lower angle on the vertical axis (arguably placing the viewer in a position more empathetic with the victims) and from an oblique angle on the horizontal angle (arguably a more detached perspective) (see Kress and van Leeuwen 2006). A soldier in the

foreground of the image is leaning over the closest body, either placing it on the ground or examining it, and obscures the shoulders and heads of all the victims (which are visible in the more graphic *Thairath* image). In the second, inset shot, officials appear to be collecting evidence or taking measurements of the minivan. Both images are in visual record key, provide evidence of the events reported, and attest to the attendance of the newspaper at the scene and as a reliable source.

5.3 Page design

The front page of the *Matichon* bears visual resemblance to that of the *Thairath* in terms of its layout, with 25 squared visual units arranged in a random-like manner. Two of these have a number of units embedded within a coloured border (image and text in a blue-and-yellow border/background; a number of separate news texts and an image in a green border with yellow background). The 25 visual units are combined into 14 textual units, comprising two advertisements, one masthead, ten stories, and one story-complex.

The 'Southern minivan murders' story consists of five visual units: the red text-block with white screamer headline; the text-block with black sub-head and lead on white background; the two images (one inset within the other, and so arguably a single block on the page); and the single caption block beneath the images. Even if the two images were counted as a single visual unit,[9] this story has more visual units than any other on the page, but the 'constitution' story has a larger headline which is by far the largest visual unit on the page, and the 'bushfire' story has the largest image on the page.

As with the *Thairath*, the relationship between the visual units is not signified by the visual semiotic. Unless the reader has recourse to language, it is not possible to determine which visual units combine with others into textual units, and which stand alone. Also like the *Thairath*, the composition of the page changes each day, including the position of the masthead. The same background colours are used day by day (though not in the same place on the page), and this gives the *Matichon* front page a familiar visual identity which underlies the readers' experience of the visual unpredictability.

Ideationally, the *Matichon* front page has a similar design to the *Thairath*, and construes the unpredictability of the complex of news events in a very similar way. In contrast to the *Thairath*, though, the *Matichon* is less sensational, with a tendency towards more sedate images (e.g. a satellite image provides a 'scientific' perspective on the bushfires; the victims' head wounds are not visible in the main 'Southern minivan murders' image; other large images show the attorney general's spokesperson holding a document, and military delegates at a constitutional conference). Further, there is a greater focus on the 'public' sphere of politics and business (so the newspaper is more 'highbrow' or broadsheet), rather than on the 'private' sphere of individuals' experience of violent



พม่า

ลาว

ไทย

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ล้มรัฐธรรมนูญ
ชักนำสังคมมี'ทัศนคติลบ'

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มติชน

ข่าวสั้น
มติชน sms
ผ่านโทรศัพท์มือถือ
ทุกระบบ

เที่ยงตรง ทันเหตุการณ์
ด้วยผลงาน 2 ข่าว
ยอดเยี่ยมประจำปี'49
เป็นประกัน
โทร.0-2502-0498

ฝ่าย'กม.ทหาร'จี้เขียนใน'รธน.'
คงคลื่นวิทยุกองทัพอ้างมั่นคง
ส.ส.ร.ชี้ดาบสองคมปิดฝุ่นปี'40

2540 ... 13

เด่นในฉบับ

แพทย์ไร้พรมแดน
รุมประณาม'แอบบอต'
น.10...
กระแสคว่ำ'รธน.'
ถึงอย่างไรก็ฉบับ'รถถัง'
น.11...
เศรษฐกิจ
'ธาริษา'ไม่ยอม
ลด ดบ.รวดเดียว1%
น.17...
บันเทิง
ทีวีดาวเทียม
เรื่องที่ยุ่งขึ้นเรื่อยๆ
น.24...

'สนธิ'รับครบ6เดือน
เอาผิดยากคดี'ทักษิณ'
'หมื่นเบื้องสูง–ทุจริต'

... 15

'กุ้ง–ปลา'เจ้าพระยาโผล่ผิวน้ำหนีตาย
ไฟป่าวิกฤตไหม้ทั่วประเทศ8หมื่นไร่

... 14

สุดอำมหิต!
จ่อยิงหัวทีละคน'8ศพ'

โลกรุมจวก'แอบบอต'ไร้น้ำใจ
'ไทย'บอยคอตสินค้าในตลาด

... 5

ก.พ.ร.ไฟเขียวผุด'เอสดียู'
บริหาร'ทีไอทีวี'ชั่วคราว
'ไอซีที'ส่งกฤษฎีกาวินิจฉัย
ทีพาวดีโอนเงินค้ำไทยคม

... 13

ผู้โดยสารรถตู้ยะลา–หาดใหญ่
มวลชนทั่ว'ปท.'ร่วมประณาม

... 12

หัวกะทิกองทัพ
ระดมแนวคิดร่าง รธน.

อัยการสั่งฟ้อง'อ้อ–พี่ชาย'
โทษหนักคุก14ปี

หมายเย้ยบริจาคเป็นพันล.
แต่'ร้อยล้าน'ไม่คิดเบี้ยว

... 15

อ้าง'สุลต่าน'ส่งช้างเข้ามาเลย์
เด้งนายด่านพ้น'สุไหงโก–ลก

... 12

PANORAMA

PANORAMA Soy Ink

FIGURE 4.4 Front page of *Matichon*, 15 March 2007



พม่า

ลาว

ไทย

Secretary of Council of National Security (CNS) confirms 'Movement' to

Overthrow the Constitution

provoked society to have 'negative attitude'

Quality newspaper for the quality of the nation

http://www.matichon.co.th

Matichon

Bush fire - Picture taken from the Aqua satellite ... shows the area ... of the bushfire ... in Burma, Thailand, Laos ...

ข่าวสั้น sms

ผ่านโทรศัพท์มือถือ

Ins.0-2502-0498

'Army group' indicated to write in 'constitution' to keep army radio frequencies, Claims it is secured, Consitution Assembly Council (CAC) indicated 'double edged sword', Dust off '40

Featured in this edition

Doctors condemn 'Abbott' p.10...

Constitution - for the military tanks p.11...

ECONOMICS

Tarisa won't drop interest 1% p.17...

ENTERTAINMENT

Satellite TV more complicated p.24...

Sonthi accepts: guilt difficult to take after 6 months in Thaksin case

Surayuth pleaded with Thai people not to unite only in times of crisis, disunity leads to lost opportunity ...

Chao Phraya River shrimp and fish break the surface, Flee death from critical 80,000 *rai* nationwide bushfire

Most brutal!

Shot point-blank in head, one by one, 8 bodies

Most brutal - Officials move 8 bodies from the minivan ...

World jointly pierces "Abbott" as cruel, Thailand boycotts goods in market

Ky. Tipavadee

Office of the Public Sector Department Commissiongives green light, start up 'SDU' administer 'TITV' temporarily, 'ICT' makes edict: Tipavadee transferred Thaikom's coverage

Yala - Haad-yai minivan passengers, Citizens nationwide jointly condemn

Army elites brainstorm constitutional draft

Read details page 9

Prosecutor accuses 'Or-brother'

Heavy punishment, Gaol 14 years

Lawyer ridicules billions donation accusation, only 'hundred million', accounts not doctored

Claims 'Sultan' ordered elephants into Malaysia, appear border officer, pass Su-ngai-kolok

Ample case - Mr Attapol Yaisawang, spokesman of the Office of the Attorney-General ...

PANORAMA Soy Ink

FIGURE 4.5 Partial 'visual translation' of *Matichon* front page, 15 March 2007

crime, and the personal lives of the rich and famous ('lowbrow' and tabloid) (Iedema, Feez and White 1994: 152). For instance, there are two court cases reported and a trade dispute leading to a national boycott.

The minivan murders are responsible for all eight deaths reported on this home page. They come from the national conflict with Southern insurgents, and are given prominent treatment, but much greater verbal salience is given to the *'ขบวนการ' ล้มรัฐธรรมนูญ* (*'movement' to overthrow the constitution*), and a comparison of the size of the text reporting the same story on the *Thairath* front page is a good indicator of the different focus of each newspaper. Apart from the 'Southern minivan murders' story, there are no deaths or violent crimes reported on this *Matichon* front page, nor are there any reports of starlets in trouble or in love.

Interpersonally, the squared, objective perspective of the *Matichon* is consistent with that of the *Thairath*, but the colour scheme of the *Matichon* features the black text on white background more typical of print newspapers. This more traditional colour design (even with the red, blue and black background of some of the headline blocks) makes the *Matichon* less visually idiosyncratic than the *Thairath*, and aligns it more closely with the broader, more staid tradition of news print than its competitor.

Textually, the composition of the *Matichon* front page is based on the same principles as that of the *Thairath*, with salience a key feature. There seems to be no 'default' reading path, and the front page appears to be designed to allow readers' individual verbal and visual interests, tastes and reactions on any given day to dictate their reading path.

The *Matichon* front page combines the semiotic resources of language, image, colour, and layout in ways which are similar to the front page of the *Thairath*, and which also display differences. The world is construed as unpredictable, but the world of the *Matichon* is less sensational than that of the *Thairath*.

The 'Southern minivan murders' news story on the front page of the *Matichon* is positioned among reports of law suits, constitutional threat, governmental processes, and natural disaster. In this multimodal context, it can be read as a shocking, unacceptable instance encountered along the social and national course for order in a chaotic world, rather than as part of the ongoing threat to the individual reader posed by the unpredictability of events. Read this way, while there is much verbal similarity between the two news stories, and much visual similarity in the design of the two front pages, *multimodally* the text of each front page displays significant differences from the other which are indicative of the different readerships to which each newspaper is written.

6 Instantiation, Individuation, Affiliation

Newspapers depend on the maintenance of a community of readers for their survival, to the point where the success of an editor is judged largely in terms of

the newspaper's readership (Thurman 2007). The two newspapers examined in this chapter have different communities of readers, and this is reflected in the different sets of experiential meanings (e.g. Pemika missing an exam as part of the focus on the 'private sphere' in the *Thairath*, versus Thailand boycotting Abbott goods as part of the focus on the 'public sphere' in the *Matichon*) that they offer for shared evaluation (e.g. that Pemika is suffering 'colic'; that Abbott is 'cruel') to those readers. At the same time, these communities overlap, and this is reflected in the newspapers covering a number of the same stories from similar evaluative perspectives (cf. Bednarek 2006: 203–4) as described in previous sections.

Zappavigna et al. (*this volume*; see also Martin *this volume*) discuss the **instantiation cline** that stretches between the potential meanings that can be made in the language system at the 'top' end of the cline, and the particular choices made in a single instance of text at the 'bottom'. They refer to the notion of **coupling** where certain functional features in a text (e.g. human Participants) are co-selected with others (e.g. negative judgement). Such couplings can recur in texts and in corpora, and such recurrence, when rhetorically motivated, is called a **syndrome** (Zappavigna et al. *this volume*). In the Thai-language newspaper texts examined for the current research project (which extends beyond the texts analysed here – cf. Knox and Patpong 2008), the coupling of negative judgement with human participants (in this case the repetitive negative judgement of the โจรใต้ (*Southern bandits*) and their actions) appears to fit a rhetorical strategy of aligning readers against the anti-government movement in the Southern conflict.

Moving from **instantiation** to **individuation**, this particular pattern of coupling (i.e. syndrome) appears to be a common feature of the **repertoire** of the *Thairath* and the *Matichon*. Repertoire refers to the set of meanings accessed by an individual from those available from the larger **reservoir** of meanings made by an entire culture.[10] The cline from reservoir (of the culture) to repertoire (of the individual) is termed the **individuation cline** (Knight *this volume*; Martin 2008b, *this volume*). By using the term *repertoire* with newspaper institutions, we are characterizing each newspaper as a **collective** social actor (i.e. consisting of more than one individual) and a **macro** social actor (i.e. their influence and actions stretch across time and space) (Mouzelis 1995). Being macro social actors, the repertoire of these newspapers is instantiated in what Bednarek (*this volume*) describes as 'special texts', which are influential in a culture.

The couplings in the *Thairath* and *Matichon* front-page reporting of the 'Southern minivan murders' story (i.e. negative judgement of the 'Southern bandits') are largely shared between the two stories. Therefore, we can move from instantiation and individuation, and consider these stories also in relation to **affiliation**.

Affiliation is a social process whereby groups (large and small) affiliate around shared identities (Knight *this volume*). Building on the notion of **bonding**, or 'ways of building togetherness, inclusiveness, and affiliation' (Stenglin 2004: 22) as developed by Stenglin and Martin (e.g. Martin 2004; Martin and Stenglin

2006; Stenglin 2004), Knight (*this volume*) has theorized the relationship between bonding and the ongoing co-construction of identity in social-semiotic terms, positing an **affiliation cline**. The affiliation cline is constructed around **bonds** (technically distinct from Stenglin and Martin's **bonding**), which are interpersonal orientations towards experiential meanings which are shared by two or more people (Knight *this volume*). The affiliation cline spans from a system of bonds shared among an entire culture at one extreme, 'down' through systems of bonds shared by communities of varying numbers, to bonds shared by two individuals at the 'bottom' of the cline (Knight *this volume*).

Returning to the shared couplings in the *Thairath* and *Matichon* stories, we can see these shared couplings as a **bond** between the newspapers, and between their respective communities of readers. Each newspaper sees the 'Southern bandits' in negative terms, and this is also the 'expected' position of the community of readers of each newspaper. Further, both newspapers explicitly attempt to 'push' this bond 'further up' the affiliation cline, beyond their respective readerships to the Thai nation (in reporting the condemnation of the minivan murders as discussed in the analysis).

In the instance of the 'Southern minivan murders' story (as one of many instances), these two Thai-language newspapers maintain the status of individual readers as part of a larger community who share values on issues such as the murder of innocent people. And in the broader social context of the ongoing violence in the South of Thailand, the 'Southern minivan murders' are not only an act against individuals and threatening in the private sphere (the shared focus of the *Thairath* and its readership), but also a separatist act, an 'anti-Thai' struggle, and therefore a threat to the public sphere (the shared focus of the *Matichon* and its readership) which helps to explain why this bond is shared by the two readerships.

In this way, this coupling of negative judgement of the Southern bandits is part of the reservoir of meanings around these events at a point 'higher up' the individuation cline than the respective community of readers of either newspaper. Further, given the influence of these two newspapers, such couplings are also likely to become established in the repertoires of other individuals 'lower down' the individuation cline.

Assuming such couplings are re-instantiated over time and establish themselves as dominant in individual repertoires and in the shared reservoir of Thai public discourse (and the analysis in Knox and Patpong 2008 together with the analysis presented in this paper suggests this is likely to be the case), it is likely that groups and communities will affiliate around these bonds when they are instantiated as shared couplings. This affiliation is likely to take place 'low down' (between small groups in conversation), at 'mid points' (such as among the readership of each newspaper), and 'high up' (in the broader Thai community) on the affiliation cline. In this case, the newspapers would be maintaining their respective readerships, while at the same time maintaining their status as influential social actors in the culture.

7 Conclusion

There is much scope for research into the semiotic practices by which newspapers (print and online, Thai-language and other) and their respective readerships negotiate their respective identities and affiliations (see Caple *this volume*; Knox 2009 for studies in this area employing the tools of SF theory). In particular for the research on which this chapter reports, detailed analysis of more texts or even corpora (see Bednarek *this volume*) is also needed.

As discussed in the introduction, Thai newspapers are influential, powerful, partisan social actors. One approach which can help explain their social status is that outlined in this chapter. The tools of linguistic and multimodal analysis employed herein, and the theoretical developments in the areas of instantiation, individuation, and affiliation offer an empirical, semiotically-grounded approach which can complement other approaches to studying the social practices and influence of the mass media, in Thailand and beyond.

In the case of the 'Southern minivan murders' stories as they appear on the front pages of the *Thairath* and the *Matichon*, each story is told multimodally, and is also part of a larger, multimodal complex of stories that constitutes each newspaper's front page. The two newspapers appeal to different, but overlapping readerships, and their explicit identification of their stance in relation to the events and actors reported is an illustrative example of the ways in which they foster their readership, and promote certain values over others. It is also a good illustration of the mobilization of public opinion against the anti-government movement in the South of Thailand. While few would see the murder of nine innocent civilians as justified (and we see it as abhorrent), the ongoing negative evaluation of the anti-government movement in Thailand's South does little or nothing to move Thai newspaper readers, Thais struggling against the government, Thai armed forces, and Thais suffering intimidation and violence from both sides towards affiliation around the values of peace and reconciliation.

Notes

[1] O'Halloran (2008) has distinguished between the terms multimodal (used to describe the combination of different modalities (or channels) in communication, such as visual, aural, olfactory and so on) and multi-semiotic (used to describe the combination of different semiotic resources such as language, image, and music). The term multimodal (including its derivatives) as used in this chapter includes the notion of multi-semiotic, as is common in the literature.

[2] There are also Chinese-language newspapers such as *泰国世界日报* (*Thailand World Daily*) and *泰国《亚洲日报》* (*Thailand Asia Daily*).

[3] The reporting of events such as these murders is typically described as 'hard news' in studies of the English-language news media. Bell (1991: 14) describes hard news according to newsworkers' categorization, seeing it as 'their staple product: reports of accidents, conflicts, crimes, announcements, discoveries and

other events'. Iedema, Feez and White (1994) characterize 'hard news' according to linguistic criteria, and demonstrate how hard news stories have a different generic structure (see note 4 below) and different patterns of evaluative language (see also Martin and White 2005) to other news stories such as features and commentaries. Knox (*forthcoming*) characterizes hard news as 'chronicling' (as opposed to 'interpreting') 'public' events (as opposed to 'private'). There are limitations, however, in the extent to which descriptions of 'hard news' in the English-language media can be mapped onto Thai-language news reporting (see Knox and Patpong 2008; McCargo 2000).

[4] **Generic structure** refers to the overall structure shared by whole texts which serve the same purpose in a given culture. Texts which share a generic structure belong to the same genre. A genre is 'a staged, purposeful, goal-oriented activity in which speakers engage as members of our culture' (Martin 2001: 155).

[5] Note the contrasting positive judgement of officials and medical staff in clauses 22 and 23 in Table 4.5.

[6] Images in visual record key can be contrasted with those in visual interpretation key, which open more opportunities for appraisal by using photographic techniques such as cropping, enlargement, colour saturation, and focus for rhetorical effect, and which also may be associated with non-news contexts (such as art and film genres) that might be expected to invoke predictable attitudes among the target readership (Economou 2008: 260–1; cf. the discussion of 'allusion' in Caple *this volume*). All five large images on the front page are in visual record key.

[7] In fact, there is consistent use of background and font colours to signify relationships between visual units in the same textual unit across editions of the *Thairath*, but these cannot be identified definitively without recourse to language.

[8] Thai orthography has no punctuation, though borrowings from English punctuation are relatively common in some contexts, including the use of exclamation marks and quotation marks in newspaper headlines.

[9] The analysis here, however, is that they are two separate images and therefore two separate textual units, similar to an 'included' clause rather than an embedded clause (cf. Martin, Matthiessen and Painter 1997: 177).

[10] Martin (2008a) characterizes repertoires as the patterns of instantiation of an individual.

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Appendix A Translation from *Thairath* front page

Clause simplex number	Thai clauses	Morpheme-by-morpheme gloss	Translation
1	||| โจรใต้ถล่มรถตู้	bandit South blitz minivan	Southern bandits blitz minivan
2	|| [O = คน] ตาย 9 ศพ	[passenger] die 9 [classifier]	9 dead
3	|| (Ø = พวกเขา = โจรใต้) จ่อยิงหัวทีละคน |||	(they-bandit) point shoot head one at a time	Shot in head point blank, one by one
4	|| (Ø = พวกเขา = คน) บาดเจ็บปางตายอีก 1	(he-passenger) injure fatally another 1 [classifier]	Another one fatally injured. Mobbed and killed in cold blood
5	|| (Ø = พวกเขา = โจรใต้) รุมฆ่าอย่างเลือดเย็น	(they-bandit) mob kill style blood cool	Begged for their lives, but no mercy shown
6	|| (Ø = พวกเขา = คน) ร้องขอชีวิต	(they-passenger) cry request life	Many provinces condemn totally
7	|| (Ø = พวกเขา = โจรใต้) ยังไม่เว้น	(they-bandit) but not except	
8	||| หลายจว.ประณามยับ	many provinces condemn totally	
9	||| โจรใต้สังหารหมู่ชาวบ้านรวดเดียว 9 ศพ	bandits South massacre villagers in one go together 9 [classifier]	Southern bandits have massacred 9 villagers in one hit, switching targets and sneakily attacking a passenger minivan travelling from Betong district, Yala province to Haadyai district.
10	|| (Ø = พวกเขา = โจรใต้) เบนเป้า	(they) diverge the target	
11	|| (Ø = พวกเขา = โจรใต้) หันมาลอบโจมตีรถตู้โดยสาร	(they) turn to sneakily attack a passenger minivan	
12	|| ขณะ (Ø = รถ) วิ่งออกจาก อ. เบตง จ.ยะลา	while (it) leave from Betong district, Yala province	
13	|| (Ø = รถ) ไปส่งปลายทาง อ. หาดใหญ่	(it) go to the destination of Haadyai district	
14	||| (Ø = พวกเขา = คน) บาดเจ็บปางตายอีก 1	they-passenger) injure fatally another 1 [classifier]	continued page 17

(Continued)

Appendix A Continued

Clause simplex number	Thai clauses	Morpheme-by-morpheme gloss	Translation
Photo 1 (above) caption			
15	||| เหยื่อทมิฬ ➢	victim cruelty	Victim of cruelty:
16	||| เจ้าหน้าที่ทหารและตำรวจลำเลียงศพผู้ตายและคนเจ็บออกจากรถตู้โดยสารบริษัทเบตงทัวร์ ทะเบียน 10-0975 ยะลา	officials soldiers and police transfer bodies of dead and injured from minivan passenger of Betong Tour license plate 10–0975 Yala	Officials, soldiers and police move the bodies of the dead and injured from a passenger minivan of Betong Tour, registered in Yala with license plate 10–0975. Bandits used felled trees to block the road, forcing the van down an embankment. They shot repeatedly. The dead and injured totalled 10 in Yala. The victims were rushed to hospital where medical staff attended to them urgently.
17	|| (Ø = มัน) ถูกกลุ่มโจรใต้ โค่นต้นไม้ขวางถนน	(it) [passive particle] group bandit South fell tree block road	
18	|| (Ø = พวกเขา = โจร) ดักยิงถล่ม	(they-bandit) snipe blitz	
19	|| จน (Ø = รถ) ตกเหว	until (the van) fall embankment	
20	|| แล้ว (Ø = พวกเขา = โจร) จ่อยิงซ้ำ	and (they-bandit) point shoot repeat	
21	||| (คน) เสียชีวิต และ (คน) บาดเจ็บ รวม 10 คน ในจ.ยะลา	(people) die and (people) injure together 10 [classifier] in Yala province	
22	||| [O = เจ้าหน้าที่] ส่งโรงพยาบาล	[officials] take (the injured) to hospital	
23	|| [O = แพทย์] ช่วยชีวิตเร่งด่วน |||	[medical staff] help lives quickly immediately	
Photo 2 (beside) caption			
24	||| ฆ่าอำมหิต ➢	kill brutal	Brutal killing:
25	||| สภาพศพชาวบ้าน [[ที่นั่งมาในรถตู้โดยสาร]] ถูกกลุ่มโจรลอบโจมตี	condition bodies villagers [[who travel in minivan passenger]] [passive particle] group bandits sneakily attack	Pictured are minivan passengers sneakily attacked by Southern bandits. The bandits used military weapons to spray the van with bullets, forcing it down an embankment. They followed and shot the passengers in the head point blank, one by one in a brutal fashion. Nine were killed and one injured on the Bannungsta-Yaha Road, Patae Zone, Yaha District, Yala Province.
26	|| (Ø = พวกเขา= โจร) ใช้อาวุธปืนสงครามกราดยิงถล่ม	(they-bandit) use weapon gun war sweepingly shoot blitz	
27	|| จนรถพุ่งตกเหว	until the van fall embankment	
28	|| แล้ว (Ø = พวกเขา = โจร) ตามลงไปใช้ปืนจ่อยิงหัวทีละคนอย่างเหี้ยมโหด	then (they-bandit) follow use guns point shoot head one at a time style brutal	
29	||| ดับรวม 9 ศพ	die total 9 [bodies-classifier]	
30	|| บาดเจ็บ 1 คน ที่ถนนสายบันนังสตา-ยะหา ต.ปะแต อ. ยะหา จ. ยะลา |||	injure 1 [classifier] at Road Bannungsta-Yaha, Tambon Patae, Amphur Yaha, Province Yala	

Appendix B Translation from *Matichon* front page

<table>
<tr><th>Clause simplex number</th><th>Thai clauses</th><th>Morpheme-by-morpheme gloss</th><th>Translation</th></tr>
<tr><td>1</td><td>||| สุดอำมหิต!</td><td>most brutal!</td><td>Most brutal!</td></tr>
<tr><td>2</td><td>|| จ่อยิงหัวทีละคน</td><td>point shoot head one at a time</td><td>Shot in head point blank, one by one</td></tr>
<tr><td>3</td><td>||| (คนเสียชีวิต) ‘8 ศพ’
ผู้โดยสารรถตู้ยะลา–หาดใหญ่</td><td>(dead) ‘8 bodies’ [classifier]
passengers minivan Yala - Haadyai</td><td>8 dead
Yala - Haadyai minivan passengers</td></tr>
<tr><td>4</td><td>||| มวลชนทั่ว ‘ปท.’ ร่วมประณาม |||</td><td>citizens across nation together condemn</td><td>Citizens across the country jointly condemn</td></tr>
<tr><td>5</td><td>||| โจรใต้อำมหิต</td><td>bandit Southern brutal</td><td rowspan="8">Brutal Southern bandits shot and killed 8 passengers, and injured another two travelling in a minivan on the Betong - Haadyai route. They felled trees and scattered nails on the road to block the route. The driver revealed that the evil people were dressed in military uniforms.</td></tr>
<tr><td>6</td><td>|| (Ø = พวกเขา = โจรใต้) ยิง</td><td>(they-bandit) shoot</td></tr>
<tr><td>7</td><td>|| [O = คน] ดับ 8</td><td>die 8 [classifier]</td></tr>
<tr><td>8</td><td>|| [O = คน] เจ็บ 2 ผู้โดยสารรถตู้สายเบตง–หาดใหญ่</td><td>injured 2 passengers minivan route Betong - Haadyai</td></tr>
<tr><td>9</td><td>|| (Ø = พวกเขา = โจรใต้) ใช้ต้นไม้ขวางทาง</td><td>(they-bandit) use tree block passage</td></tr>
<tr><td>10</td><td>|| (Ø = พวกเขา = โจรใต) โปรยตะปูเรือใบ</td><td>(they-bandit) spread nails sail boat</td></tr>
<tr><td>11</td><td>|| (Ø = พวกเขา = โจรใต) ดักทาง</td><td>(they-bandit) block passage</td></tr>
<tr><td>12</td><td>||| คนขับเผยคนร้ายแต่งกายชุดพรางเลียนแบบทหาร</td><td>driver reveal person evil dress in uniform guise imitate style military</td></tr>
<tr><td>13</td><td>||| อ่านหน้า 12 |||</td><td>read page 12</td><td>Read on page 12</td></tr>
</table>

(Continued)

Appendix B Continued

<table>
<tr><th>Clause simplex number</th><th>Thai clauses</th><th>Morpheme-by-morpheme gloss</th><th>Translation</th></tr>
<tr><td>Photo 1 (main) caption</td><td></td><td></td><td></td></tr>
<tr><td>14</td><td>||| สุดโหด–</td><td>most brutal</td><td>Most brutal:</td></tr>
<tr><td>15</td><td>||| เจ้าหน้าที่ลำเลียงศพผู้เสียชีวิต 8 ราย ออกจากรถตู้โดยสารสายเบตง–หาดใหญ่</td><td>officials transfer bodies persons die 8 [classifier] out of minivan passenger route Betong - Haadyai</td><td>Officials move 8 bodies from the Betong - Haadyai minivan after evil persons shot them point blank through in the head, one by one, resulting in their deaths. The incident occurred on Ban Ubeng Road, Moo 4, Patae Zone, Yaha District, Yala province.</td></tr>
<tr><td>16</td><td>|| หลัง (Ø = พวกเขา) ถูกคนร้ายใช้ปืนจ่อยิงศรีษะทีละราย</td><td>after (they) [passive particle] person evil use gun point shoot head one at a time</td><td></td></tr>
<tr><td>17</td><td>|| จน (Ø = พวกเขา) เสียชีวิต</td><td>until (they) died</td><td></td></tr>
<tr><td>18</td><td>||| เหตุเกิดบนถนนบ้านอุเบง หมู่ 4 ต. ปะแต อ. ยะหา จ.ยะลา</td><td>incident occur on road Ban Ubeng, Moo 4, Tambon Patae, Amphur Yaha, Yala province</td><td></td></tr>
<tr><td>Photo 2 (inset) caption</td><td></td><td></td><td></td></tr>
<tr><td>19</td><td>||| (บน) เจ้าหน้าที่จากกองวิทยาการเขต 45 ยะลา ตรวจสอบสภาพรถตู้คันที่เกิดเหตุ เมื่อวันที่ 14 มีนาคม |||</td><td>(above) officials from forensic region 45 Yala inspect condition of the minivan in which the incident occur on 14 March</td><td>(Inset) Forensic officials from Region 45 Yala inspect the van in which the incident occurred on the 14th of March.</td></tr>
</table>

Chapter 5

Doubling-up: Allusion and Bonding in Multisemiotic News Stories

Helen Caple

1 Introduction

Recently, I had to chuckle to myself upon encountering the following newspaper headline: 'Buying the Rabbitohs: $1.5m. Personal income sacrificed: $5m. Seeing Souths win: priceless' (Ritchie 2007: 3). Questions then emerged as to what it was that had made me laugh, what kinds of understandings of my local environment I needed in order to recognize and then decode the playful references being made here and then what kind of reader I needed to be to be able to participate in the play at stake in this text. Not only did I need to know that the Rabbitohs is the nickname of the struggling Australian South Sydney Rugby League team that was rescued from the receivers in 2006 by Sydney businessman Peter Holmes à Court and his Hollywood actor friend Russell Crowe at huge personal expense (rumoured to be in excess of $5 million), but I also needed to know the MasterCard advertisement that tells me about all the things that I can buy with this credit card while reminding me simultaneously that some things in life (comfortingly) cannot be bought at any price. I also had to be able to hold both the MasterCard reference and my knowledge of the recent rather poor performance of Souths in the NRL (National Rugby League) competition in my gaze at the same time so that I could appreciate the play that had been created in the meeting of these different texts. Of course, all of this would only be possible if I was a willing participant in this little game, prepared to put in the necessary cognitive effort for the reward of a momentary chuckle; or, in other words, if I was willing to decode the allusion to advertising discourse and to 'bond' with the newspaper over its play with words.

This chapter explores the notions of *allusion* and *bonding* in news discourse from a systemic functional linguistic (henceforth SFL) perspective. Allusions are generally described as 'a passing reference, without explicit identification, to a literary or historical person, place, or event, or to another literary work or passage' (Abrams 2009: 11). Associated with this is the notion that allusions also have the function of 'cueing in readers' knowledge and attitudes: they are [. . .] the medium of an implicit pact between source and reader' (Fowler 1991: 228). This is important here because this chapter also concerns itself with the function

of allusions with regard to bonding or community building; particularly in relation to Australian news discourse and the troubled future of the print newspaper (Who killed the newspaper? 2006; see also Knox et al. *this volume* on positioning news readers evaluatively). Bonding is viewed as being concerned with 'ways of building togetherness, inclusiveness and affiliation' (Stenglin 2004: 402).[1] Furthermore, the discussion here will also take into consideration the possibility of allusions occurring across semiotic resources, spanning both words and images, creating a sort of intersemiotic word-image play (Caple 2008a).[2] Viewed from an SFL perspective, the analysis will centre on the notions of *instantiation* and *commitment* as applied to the multiplication of meaning at the interface between language, image and the allusions they make to other discourses.

2 Intertextuality, Allusion and SFL Dimensions

2.1 Introduction

The English language, it seems, is a joke. From the 'oh-no' corny humour that appears every Christmas in Christmas crackers (see Astle 2008: 23 for examples) to the graffiti on suburban walls (see Figure 5.1), it seems that it is virtually impossible in our 'postmodern' world to produce an original text that does not in any way make reference to what has come before (compare Section 3.1 below).



FIGURE 5.1 A graffitied wall in the suburb of Glebe, NSW, 2037, which makes reference to Coca-cola and Nike (original image in colour and mirroring the red and white colour scheme of the Coca-cola brand) (photograph by Helen Caple)

In fact, many texts deliberately try to include references to other texts, often to humorous effect (Raskin 1985; Goldstein 1990; Chiaro 1992; Attardo 1994; Eggins and Slade 1997; Crystal, 1998; Blake 2007). This is commonly referred to as *intertextuality*. However, recent debate surrounding the notions of *intertextuality* and authorial intent has led to questions concerning the appropriateness of this term, with the term *allusion* being offered as an alternative. In the following section (2.2), the original use of the term *intertextuality* will be discussed, then, in Section 2.3, an alternative approach that includes debate on the role of the text producer and text receiver will be explored. In Section 2.4, the SFL dimensions of instantiation and commitment will be introduced and bonding and community building will be explained from an SFL perspective.

2.2 Intertextuality

For many years the term *intertextuality* has been employed to describe the shaping of a text's meaning through its reference to other texts; however, one can criticize loose applications of this term, in part because it is often used in ways that are not commensurate with the original use intended by its creator Julia Kristeva. A post-structuralist, Kristeva is widely credited with coining the term *intertextuality*, stemming from her doctoral work, under the guidance of Roland Barthes, in which she combines de Saussure's notion of the sign with Bakhtin's notion of dialogism (Irwin 2004: 228). As far as Kristeva is concerned, there is nothing outside the text. All texts are *intertextual*; thus, they only derive their meaning through relations to other texts, and in combining this with the 'death of the author' (Barthes 1977: 142), it is only other texts that can supply meaning. This means that the author's intentions are irrelevant; rather, it is the reader who makes associations and revels in the pleasure of the text.

Irwin (2004: 233) notes, though, that there is a logical inconsistency here in the transfer of power from author to reader. He and others (e.g. Hirsch 1976) argue that behind any text there has to be some form of authorial intent. In fact, Irwin declares that '[a]uthorial intention is unavoidable; intertextual connections are not somehow magically made between inanimate texts but are the products of authorial design' (Irwin 2004: 240), and to think otherwise would be to commit what Danto calls 'Referential Fallacy' (Danto 1987: 10–11). According to Hirsch's (1976) intentionalism, meaning is indeed supplied by the author, but this does not necessarily restrict the meanings that the reader may get out of the text (Irwin 2004: 234).

Intertextuality is also discussed by Lemke (1985; 1995) and Paltridge (2006) in relation to text semantics, and by Fairclough (1995) in relation to media discourse.[3] Lemke (1995) suggests that a text's meaning is directly dependent on the 'connections made in a particular community between it and other texts' (Lemke 1995: 85). He also states that for a complete account of textual meaning, not only the grammatical and situational contexts must be described,

but also the intertextual context in which they are placed must be elaborated upon at the level of context of culture. This concurs with Fairclough's (1995) explanation of intertextual analysis being focused on the borderline between text and discourse practice, and that intertextual analysis aims to 'unravel the various genres and discourses . . . which are articulated together in the text' (Fairclough 1995: 61). This idea of investigating the genres (Martin 2006) and discourses that are drawn upon in producing a text is one that will be returned to later in the chapter with reference to a particular multisemiotic news story genre that is commonly featured in the Australian broadsheet newspaper *The Sydney Morning Herald*. The contention in all of these approaches to intertextuality, however, is the role of the author, a point that will be taken up in the following section.

2.3 Allusion

Allusion is an alternative perspective from literary theory on the idea of texts making reference to other texts. In relation to the topic of this chapter, multisemiotic media discourse, there are four major reasons why the term *allusion* is preferable over the term *intertextuality*. First, it is a term that has been widely taken up in the study of allusion in media discourse (Lennon 2004), especially in relation to headline writing and other verbal text in the media (see for example Straumann 1935; Armstrong 1945; Pucheu 1981; Iarovici and Amel 1989; Black 1989; Wilss 1989; Lindemann 1990; Brandt 1991; Büscher 1995; Held 1998). Second, *allusion* does appear to be more directly in tune with the idea of authorial intention, because it implies someone (the author) is doing the alluding (see Irwin 2001 for a comprehensive discussion of authorial intention). Third, by recognizing authorial intent this has implications for the potential that allusions have in creating a bond between the producer and the receiver of texts, which is central to the discussion in this chapter of the notions of community building and bonding between a newspaper and its readers. Finally, there is the possibility of judging allusions on an aesthetic basis (Irwin 2001: 292), which is crucial to the discussion of the game-like nature of the intersemiotic allusions that will be discussed later in this chapter with reference to a particular news story genre.

In defining allusions, Lennon (2004) states that allusions are characterized as containing a short stretch of discourse that is recognized by the reader as 'a deliberate play on a piece of well-known composed language or name so as to convey implicit meaning' (Lennon 2004: 1). This concurs with Irwin's (2001) point that allusions are not merely references to other texts. For correct understanding, allusions also depend on 'something more than mere substitution of a referent. Certain associations are to be made' (Irwin 2001: 288). This means that also vital in this definition is the role of the reader. For an allusion to be truly successful, the reader must be able to 'get' what the author intended

(Irwin 2001: 293; Lennon 2004: 3). It will be argued later in this chapter that it is around this shared understanding between the author and the reader that bonds are forged and community is built.

2.4 Instantiation and commitment

Within the SFL framework, instantiation is a global semiotic dimension from which any text can be viewed (see Martin *this volume*, Bednarek *this volume*). The cline of instantiation looks at how language is organized or functions within a particular context, while at the same time it allows us to maintain two perspectives at once: that of language as system and language as text (Halliday and Matthiessen 2004b). Halliday (1991) analogizes the relationship between system and instance to that between climate and weather:

> Climate and weather are not two different things; they are the same thing that we call weather when we are looking at it close up, and climate when we are looking at it from a distance. The weather goes on around us all the time; it is the actual instances of temperature and precipitation and air movement that you can see and hear and feel. The climate is the potential that lies behind all these things; it is the weather seen from a distance by an observer standing some way off in time. So of course there is a continuum from one to the other; there is no way of deciding when a 'long term weather pattern' becomes a 'temporary condition of climate', or when 'climatic variation' becomes merely changes in the 'weather.' (Halliday 1991: 9)

Thus, instantiation is described as a cline, where we may observe a text from the point of view of the system at one end of the cline or from the standpoint of the instance at the other. By *system* we mean the overall generalized meaning potential of the system of language, and by *instance*, we mean the affording instance – the actual text as it is manifested in a particular context at a particular time. In between these two poles we have (in Halliday's 1978 terms) the functional varieties of language or registers (viewed from the system end of the cline), and text types or the patterns of meanings in a sample group (as viewed from the instance end of the cline). Martin and Rose (2003: 269–70) describe this shifting perspective as apparent flux (at the instance end of the cline), as inertia (at the system end of the cline), or as something in between. Figure 5.2 shows their interpretation of the cline of instantiation. Expanding Halliday and Matthiessen's (2004b) interpretation of the cline, Martin and Rose (2003) introduce *reading* as a final step on this model to refer to 'subjectified meaning' (Martin and Rose 2003: 270), relating to the different interpretations of meaning that texts allow. This will become important when discussing the extent to which readers are involved in the meaning-making process later in this chapter.

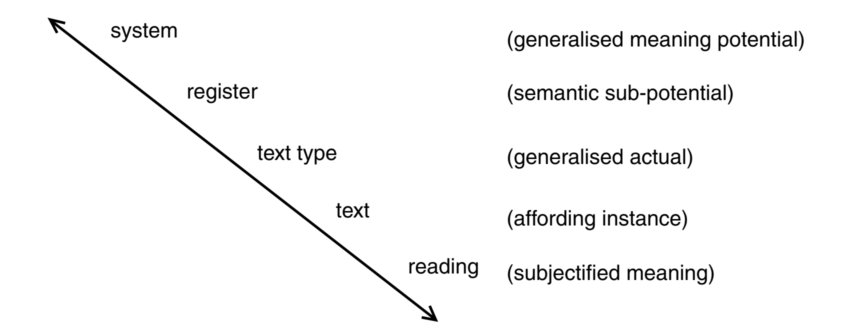


FIGURE 5.2 The cline of instantiation (Martin and Rose 2003: 270)

With regard to allusions and their reliance on the invocation of other remembered texts in decoding their meanings, the cline of instantiation is a valuable tool for analysing how such meanings change as texts are reconstructed from and in relation to other texts. Martin (2006) describes this process as involving *distantiation*, 'moving up the hierarchy, opening up the meaning potential as we move, and then taking advantage of this under-specification of meaning to reinstantiate 'the story' in a novel text' (Martin 2006: 286). Hood (2008) develops Martin's term *commitment* to refer to the 'degree of meaning potential instantiated in one instance or another' (Hood 2008: 356), looking at how meanings shift from source text to summary in academic writing programs. Instantiation and commitment will be taken up later in this chapter to examine how allusions in multisemiotic news stories contribute to the meaning-making process. But first, *bonding*, another SFL perspective useful for this discussion of allusion in media discourse, will be introduced.

2.5 Bonding

Following Stenglin (2004: 428), *bonding* is concerned with the way that language and images negotiate the potential that *feelings* have for aligning readers into 'overlapping communities of attitudinal rapport' (Martin 2004: 323). Feelings play a central role in negotiating communal alignment for they express 'interpersonal attitudes to ideational experience' (Martin 2004: 337),[4] and it is around these shared attitudes that we bond. In her work on the grammar of three-dimensional space, Stenglin describes bonding as being 'concerned with ways of building togetherness, inclusiveness and affiliation' (Stenglin 2004: 402). She explains that:

> In cultural institutions like museums and galleries, Bonding is about making visitors feel welcome and as though they belong, not just to the building and the physical environment, but to a community of like-minded people – people

> who share similar values, appreciate some or all aspects of their material cultural heritage and enjoy participating in the shared activities that the institution offers. (Stenglin 2004: 402)

Chang (2004) notes that when allusions are used in a text one of their functions is to 'membership' text producers and receivers as 'belonging to a community with shared linguistic and cultural values, as well as providing interest and novelty to the text, which further increases solidarity' (Chang 2004: 1). Thus, famous quotations, for example, when taken from their original context tend to iconize the character or actor (e.g. Captain Kirk, Humphrey Bogart) and can be seen as what Chang (2004) calls 'membershipping devices' (Chang 2004: 1), creating a fandom, or seen as 'bondicons' (Martin and Stenglin 2007: 216, cf. also Knight *this volume*, Zhao *this volume*, Caldwell *this volume*) for people who love, for example, Shakespeare, Crocodile Dundee, or Dirty Harry. According to Stenglin (2004), bondicons are 'rallying devices', realized not only through language but also through other signs, for example flags, iconic buildings and people, which are used to crystallize strong interpersonal attitudes to ideational meanings. Thus, when a text, for example a news report, makes use of a famous quotation, the readers must essentially know where the original quote has come from if they are to appreciate any attempts at playing with its meanings. As a bondicon, the quote has become interpersonal, and, in Stenglin's terms, has been charged up as a rallying resource (Stenglin, 2004). Examples of this will be given in Section 3 below.

3 Allusion in the Multisemiotic News Story

3.1 Introduction

Allusion is a common feature of post-modern culture, where 'everything is connected' (Pärsch 2007: 17), and, as already noted, it seems that every text makes use of allusion. Even if we only examine the topics under discussion in this volume, we can see that allusions are commonly found in popular culture and in media texts. For instance, *Gilmore Girls* is a popular American television series (see Bednarek *this volume*), which is well known for its propensity to allude to aspects of both high-brow and popular culture.[5] The use of allusion in *Gilmore Girls* is said to have implications with regard to the extent to which the show is able to identify with a variety of audience types (Woods 2008: 131), thus extending its audience reach and boosting viewing figures. Other contemporary television shows like *The Simpsons* (an American animated series) and *Spaced* (a British sitcom) are dependent on allusions as a source of humour. Rap music also has a propensity to allude to, i.e. 'sample', other songs. Kanye West's extensive repertoire is a prime example of this (see Caldwell *this volume*).

Table 5.1 Allusions to the Great Wall of China that appeared in newspaper headlines before and during the coverage of the Beijing Olympic Games 2008

Headline text	What about	Where used
THE GREAT WALL OF FACTS	This text details general facts and figures about China, including topics like the economy, history, health.	Double page spread in a special *China Issue* of the *Good Weekend* magazine published by Fairfax Media and distributed with the Saturday edition of *The Sydney Morning Herald.* *SMH*, 12 July 2008: 38–39
Great pall of China	An environmental news report about the smoggy conditions in Beijing in the lead-up to the Olympic games.	On the front page of the main section of the newspaper. *SMH*, 8 August 2008: 1
Great haul of China	A news report about the poor performance of the Australian men's swim team at the Olympics in comparison to the women's swim team who outstripped the men in the Gold medal tally by six to nothing.	On the front page of the main section of the newspaper above a table indicating the number of medals won by the men's and women's swim teams at the Olympics. *SMH*, 18 August 2008: 1
The great bawl of China	A news report about the Chinese hurdler Liu Xiang who injured his Achilles tendon forcing him to withdraw from the competition and to leave the stadium in tears.	On the front page of the Beijing 08 special sports lift-out section that appeared in *SMH* every day during the Olympics. *SMH*, 19 August 2008: 1

Allusions are also a common feature in English language newspaper headlines. One only has to look at the headlines in the lead up to and during the Olympic games in Beijing in 2008 to see numerous examples of this. *The Sydney Morning Herald* (henceforth *SMH*), a broadsheet newspaper that services the metropolitan area of Sydney and New South Wales, Australia, made several references (among others) to the Great Wall of China in its headlines during July and August 2008 (see Table 5.1).

Table 5.1 also shows the modification of allusions. The fact that allusive references are modified slightly from the original text adds to their playful or humorous effect (Chang 2004; Black 1989). Wee (2008) calls this 'constructional riffing', alluding to the creative practice in jazz music. When word-play engages in manipulation of the discourse there is an aesthetic effect to be derived from this (Black 1989). This point will be returned to later in the discussion with regard to bonding and community building.

While much research has studied allusions in media discourse (Straumann 1935; Armstrong 1945; Pucheu 1981; Iarovici and Amel 1989; Black 1989; Wilss 1989; Lindemann 1990; Brandt 1991; Büscher 1995; Held 1998; Lennon 2004),

an area that is grossly understudied in media discourse analysis, is the possibility of allusions occurring across semiotic resources, spanning both words and images, and resulting in a sort of intersemiotic word-image play. This kind of allusive word-image play has been particularly prevalent in *SMH* in recent years (Caple 2008a). In fact, a new news story genre, *the image-nuclear news story* (see Caple 2006 for an explanation of nuclearity in this news story, and Martin 2006 for the SFL conceptualization of genre), has emerged out of this extensive use of multisemiotic allusions and has been the subject of detailed analysis (see Caple 2006; 2008a; 2008b) with regard to its functioning in the newspaper to build community. The following section (3.2) will introduce the image-nuclear news story and the co-construal of meaning between words and pictures. Then the types of allusions made in this news story genre will be explored in Section 3.3 before Section 3.4 looks at how this relationship can be viewed from an SFL perspective.

3.2 Allusion in the image-nuclear news story

An image-nuclear news story (Caple *in progress*) is a story that includes a large and often aesthetically motivated photograph, a heading[6] that relates directly and often playfully to this photograph through the use of pun or allusion, and a caption that expands upon the newsworthiness of the event being reported. The heading is placed above the image and enters into a direct relationship with the image. The short caption is usually placed either below or to the side of the image. There is no extended text with such stories. An example of an image-nuclear news story is given in Figure 5.3. As can be seen in the example story in Figure 5.3, this is another reference to the Great Wall of China, made in 2004 in connection with a waxworks exhibition in Beijing. The headings in image-nuclear news stories invariably draw on puns or on allusions to other texts which are then picked up on in the image and occasionally in the caption, most often to humorous effect. The use of allusions in these stories is thus an example of what we may term allusive word-image play.

A large number of such news stories were collected in a corpus allowing not just qualitative but also quantitative empirical investigations (see Bednarek *this volume* on corpus linguistics and SFL). This corpus will now be briefly introduced.

3.3 The image-nuclear news story corpus (INNSC)

The INNSC is a collection of 1,000 image-nuclear news stories that forms the basis of a much larger research project (Caple *in progress*). The focus in this chapter, however, will rest on only one aspect of this research project, which captures the extent to which the headings in image-nuclear news stories



16 News | Thursday, September 30, 2004 smh.com.au

The Sydney Morning Herald

Convicted US Taliban fighter pleads for mercy

A brave new world of words

The great hall of China

Republicans may face a Cuban revolution in Miami's Little Havana

North Koreans dash for freedom in Beijing

New Zealand deports Israelis as spying row remains unresolved

Russian school students to wear dog tags

FOCUS

Bombers sentenced

Israeli army raid

Hambali ally held

Guerilla ambush

Death for Hitman No.1

Bird flu battle

Dolly the human

Growers' Market

The Sydney Morning Herald Good Living Growers' Market

Pyrmont Bay Park (opposite Star City Casino)

2nd October 2004 7am – 11am

START A CONVERSATION

The Sydney Morning Herald

FIGURE 5.3 An image-nuclear news story that alludes to the Great Wall of China (*SMH*, 30 September 2004: 16)

make use of allusions to other discourses. The implications of this with regard to community building will be discussed in Section 4. In analysing the INNSC, puns and allusions are present in 95 per cent of the headings.[7] The remaining 5 per cent of story headings make use of the straight or serious language typical of 'hard' news reportage.[8] This chapter will focus only on the use of allusions in image-nuclear news stories. Examples of allusions used in this corpus include references to canonical discourses such as movies, songs, literary references and specialized or technical discourses: that is, to contexts that are in addition to that of the event depicted in the news story. For example, this may include references to a favourite movie, as in the heading 'Cry freedom' (alluding to a 1980s movie), or to a favourite author, as in the heading 'A moveable feast' (alluding to a Hemingway memoir). Some examples of the kinds of allusions made in image-nuclear news stories are given in Table 5.2.

As Table 5.2 illustrates, many of the headings make reference to films, their titles and memorable quotes from them, to novels, poems, songs and television shows. References to specialized or technical discourses are also commonly found in these headings, with discourses as varied as militaristic, religious, sporting and advertising being drawn on. Institutionalized discourses also feature, drawing on famous speeches from the great political leaders of the past, as in the heading *Fighting them on the beaches* (alluding to Churchill's famous war time speech) and lexis associated with particular historical events, for example in the heading *Great leap backwards* (alluding to an economic and social plan implemented by the Chinese government in 1958 aimed at modernizing the Chinese economy). These all require considerable background knowledge, some of it quite specialized, which is commensurate with descriptions of allusions by Kellet (1969: 9), Cicourel (1969: 186–9), Halliday (1978: 60, 109) Riffaterre (1980: 627–8), Lindemann (1989) and Miner (1993: 39).

The method for creating a playful relationship between the headings and images in image-nuclear news stories relies on our ability to hold two meanings in our gaze at the same time: that of the original sense of the wording or context and that of its redeployment in combination with a photograph in this particular news story genre. I term this *twoness of meaning*. Raskin (1985) describes certain jokes in a similar way as having an element that triggers a switch from one semantic script to another, with the switch making up the joke. If we are unable to hold both semantic scripts in our view at the same time then we are unlikely to find the joke humorous. This is also true of image-nuclear news stories and has important implications as to the kinds of readers who are able to access all the meanings present. However, before we look at reader positioning and its implications for community building in Section 4, the next section, 3.4, will explore how this twoness of meaning can be explained using SFL theory, in particular through the concepts of instantiation and commitment mentioned above.

Table 5.2 Examples of allusions in the INNSC

Discourses alluded to	Example Headings	
Cinema	Call that a lighter . . . this is a lighter	Cry freedom
	Gold ahead, make my day	Dry hard with a vengeance
	It's safe to go back into the water	For a few dollars more
	Play it again - a samba	From here to eternity
	Boys in the 'hood	Jurassic lark
Television	And the survey says . . .	
	Opportunity knocks	
Song	Hans, knees und boomps-a-daisy	Ebony and ivory
	He ain't heavy, he's my brother	Stairway to heaven
	Hunk of burning love	The times they aren't a-changin'
	Brothers in arms	Three times a lady pioneer
Literary	My, what big teeth you have	A moveable feast
	Not waving, but worshipping	All's well that ends well
	Over the hump and away they go	A hitchhiker's guide to a galaxy of bitumen
	Rage against the dying of the fight	Arabian knights
Advertising	Aah, the satisfying crunch of hoof on snow	
	Cooking with gas	
	Now with free air-conditioning	
	You can get it any old how . . . but it won't be brewed in Broadway any more	
Military	Attack from the air	Display of firepower
	Chute to kill	In the line of duty
	Decamping in a muddy direction	It's a battleground
Religious	And the lesson today is how to dance	
	Give us this day our little bread roll	
Sporting	Autograph hunter wears down the defence	On your marks, get set, wait a bit more
	Coach does the crawl in middle lane	One-horse town is under starter's orders
	More rain becomes odds-on favourite	Padded up and mist on the boundary
Historical/ institutionalized	Fighting them on the beaches	Red flag day for Nelson's booty
	Freedom beckons	The eagle has landed
	Great leap backwards	The great hall of China
	Prayers for Little Boy's victims	The white hats are the good guys
	Preparing for battle in the fog of oar	

3.4 Unpacking the play: instantiation and commitment in image-nuclear news stories

With regard to the allusive play between words and images in the image-nuclear news story, we have the invoking of two sets of meanings derived from two separate instances: that of the instance of the image-nuclear news story and that

of the original text or context implicated intertextually in this story, both of which are to be held simultaneously in view. The play is derived semantically between the words and image and by the fact that we discharge the meaning from one instance (the original meaning) and recharge the meaning in the second instance (in the news story). This notion of discharging and recharging meaning potential has been developed by Hood (2008), who takes up the term *commitment* to mean 'the degree of meaning potential instantiated in one instance or another' (Hood 2008: 356). In relation to the twoness of meaning present in image-nuclear news stories, it is useful to examine the verbal-visual play through commitment, metafunction and field shift.

As noted above, the kinds of allusion made in image-nuclear news stories include references to proper names or titles, for example in *Hello, Norma Jean* (alluding to an Elton John song), or *Towering Inferno* (alluding to the 1974 disaster movie starring Steve McQueen, Paul Newman and William Holden), or *Ebony and Ivory* (alluding to a song by Paul McCartney and performed with Stevie Wonder), as well as longer quotations taken from movies or from political or historical events, for example in *It's safe to go back into the water* (from the film *Jaws 2*), or *Fighting them on the beaches* (from the Churchill speech), or *The eagle has landed* (a reference to the Apollo 11 landing on the surface of the moon). First, we can view the meaning-making process as follows:

1. An allusion to a remembered language chunk is invoked in the heading (along with its infused or encoded interpersonal meaning as a bondicon).
2. This allusion is backgrounded while the image instantiates the lexis from the heading in the image (i.e. discharging the interpersonal meaning and reinvesting the lexis with ideational meaning).
3. The play is activated when the reader is able to hold both the original context of the allusion in the verbiage along with its literal representation in the image in view.

In terms of commitment theory (see also Martin *this volume*), the intersemiotic play goes through a process of de-commitment of the interpersonal meaning and re-commitment of the ideational meaning. However, in many cases, more of the contextual field of the text alluded to can be drawn on and recontextualized in the image-nuclear news story, and here it may be useful also to consider the notion of field shift. Field is a register variable concerned with the 'social action that is taking place' (Martin and Rose 2003: 243) and a shift in field entails the recontextualization of the activity from one field into a new field, for example from its use in a movie advertisement to its use in a news media context. An example will be used to illustrate this point. The story in Figure 5.4 makes reference to a line that was used extensively to advertise the film *Jaws 2* (1978) the sequel to the 1975 thriller *Jaws*, widely considered a watershed film in motion picture history (the original was directed by Steven Spielberg). The original quote used in posters to advertise the movie reads 'Just when you thought it was safe to go back in the water . . .' and appeared at the top of the

page above the title of the film and above an image of a woman waterskiing with the open mouth of a shark in close pursuit. (The original poster can be viewed at: http://www.imdb.com/media/rm4244544000/tt0077766.)

As Figure 5.4 shows, the heading of this news story (*It's safe to go back into the water*) has been slightly modified compared to the original quote (*Just when you thought it was safe to go back in the water*), as is common in image-nuclear news stories (compare Section 3.1 above). The text alluded to, from the *Jaws 2* film, is presented in the original text as a dependent clause, using projection and the mental process *think*, which, along with the ellipsis suggesting that there is more to come or unfinished business, hints at danger and a lack of resolution of the shark problem raised in the first *Jaws* film. Here, the dangerous creatures, sharks, have not been fully dealt with in the first film, hence the sequel and a continuation of the saga. In contrast, the corresponding allusion in the news story (*It's safe to go back into the water*) is a declarative, independent clause using the relational process *be* in the simple present tense. In terms of speech function in the discourse semantics, declarative clauses realize statements and the giving of information (Halliday 1978). Thus, this text appears to making a declaration of fact that the waterhole depicted in the photograph is a safe swimming spot. The ranger holding the gun over his shoulder reinforces and indeed reflects this notion of safety in that he is there, standing over the water and ready to protect anyone who ventures in for a swim. His reflection in the water doubles this sense of security. In engaging with the caption, it becomes clear what exactly the ranger is protecting us from – crocodiles. It could be argued, however, that an Australian reader, knowing the time of year that this article was published (May), and recognizing the landscape as tropical (typical of Northern Australia), would already be familiar with the annual practice of removing crocodiles from waterholes in and around Kakadu National Park in the Northern Territory in preparation for the winter tourism season. Thus, they would not necessarily need to engage with the caption to understand what this story is about. The rock that the ranger is standing on also looks a little like a crocodile, and enhances the factual meanings generated in the heading that the authorities are in control and on top of the situation. The caption reads:

> If the tourists are coming to crocodile country, then it is time for the crocodiles to go. In an effort to attract more visitors to Kakadu National Park, rangers like Garry Lindner, above, are removing hundreds of crocodiles from spots popular with tourists. The federal Parliamentary Secretary for the Environment, Greg Hunt, said most of the crocodiles would be simply moved to other waterholes but "if they're troublesome they may be disposed of thoughtfully".

Looking at the two instances together, the film and the news event, we can observe several similarities: both deal with open bodies of water, the American coastline and the waterholes of the Northern Territory; both deal with deadly


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Spectrum

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By Paul Byrnes

Paying for aged care – on the house

BOOM OR BUST

It's safe to go back into the water

If the tourists are coming to crocodile country, then it is time for the crocodiles to go. In an effort to attract more visitors to Kakadu National Park, rangers like Garry Lindner, above, are removing hundreds of crocodiles from spots popular with tourists. The federal Parliamentary Secretary for the Environment, Greg Hunt, said most of the crocodiles would be simply moved to other waterholes but "if they're troublesome they may be disposed of thoughtfully". Photo: Glen Campbell

Schoolgirl put on detention over dress

I'm innocent, says bag handler

Kate McClymont, Neil McMahon and Les Kennedy

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FIGURE 5.4 An image-nuclear news story that draws on allusions to the movie *Jaws 2* (*SMH*, 14 May 2005: 1)

creatures, sharks and crocodiles, that are known to prey on humans (albeit usually in extreme circumstances); however, in one of the instances the menace, sharks, are still present, and in the other, the menace has been dealt with. In terms of the SFL concepts of instantiation and context, we could also view this move from the original instance to its recontextualization in a new instance in a news story as a field shift, creating a play between the meanings from the original instance and their modification and use in the news story context. The reader, still holding the connotations from the film in his/her gaze, may still hold onto a feeling of uncertainty as to whether it really is safe to swim in the waterholes in Kakadu. This is similar to the way that Wilss's (1989) uses the term 'semantic refocussing' to describe instances where playing with language allows the writer to mean more than s/he would ordinarily be permitted to say.

4 Allusion and Bonding in the Image-Nuclear News Story

4.1 Intersemiotic play as effortful game

It is important to note that this play on words and images in image-nuclear news stories is a challenge to unravel, but should only engage the reader just long enough to appreciate the cleverness of the play before moving on to read the story in the caption, or to the next story on the page, or to elsewhere in the paper. Drawing on Gibb's (1994: 110) notion of the total time hypothesis, in the process of comprehending the play in image-nuclear news stories, the reader may go through three stages (^ conventionally signals 'followed by'): recognition^interpretation^appreciation, where recognition involves the conscious identification of the trope; interpretation means consciously working out the implications of the trope, and appreciation involves the aesthetic judgement of the trope. The pleasure (after Barthes 1976) derived from this process comes in the final stage where the aesthetic element is linking this interpretation to word-image play and allusion. As Kellet (1969: 11) notes, if an allusion is 'discoverable but veiled', where the reader needs to put in a little more effort to uncover the allusion, the reader may recognize the secondary reference with a pleasurable touch of surprise. This aesthetic element links allusion with word-play and punning (Ben-Porat 1976: 108) and as Black (1989) stresses in relation to word-play across verbal texts, the aesthetic effect of the allusion derives from the word-play effect obtained by substitution, especially when the replaced and substituted items are formally related but contrast semantically. Sperber and Wilson (1995: 231–2) suggest that the guiding principle for inferencing is relevance and not to place an unnecessary processing burden on the reader. This is what they term the 'principle of least effort'. I would argue, however, that image-nuclear news stories engage readers in an *effortful* game, moving from recognition through interpretation and ending up at the crucial stage of appreciation (for a more detailed discussion of the processes involved

in reading these allusions see Caple and Bednarek *forthcoming*). The next section introduces the kind of reader one needs to be in order to be able to play along in this effortful game that is so clearly naturalized in the image-nuclear news story.

4.2 Reading position

As has become evident, the word-image play in image-nuclear news stories can be very complex to unravel and requires a certain effort and willingness on the part of the reader to decode. In terms of reading position, such a reader has been theorized as the 'compliant' (de Certeau 1984, cited in Martin and Rose 2003: 270) or 'obliging reader' (Kitis and Milapides 1996: 585), one who is not only 'actively involved in the construction of meaning and significance, but also in the intertextual process of activating other texts and discourses which are part of his/her background knowledge in constructing the appropriate myths' (Kitis and Milapides 1996: 585). With image-nuclear news stories, unpacking the verbal-visual, or intersemiotic, play is clearly quite a demanding activity, one that requires considerable knowledge on the part of the reader, not only linguistically speaking, but also in terms of the general, popular and cultural knowledge that they must possess in order to participate (Caple and Bednarek *forthcoming*).[9] At the same time, it is important to acknowledge that there will be occasions when even the most obliging of readers will be unable to decode the play created in the heading and image. Thus, it may be more useful to think of reading position as a continuum, since there will be times when certain readers will share the cultural knowledge and values exemplified in the story and times when they will not. The question that arises out of this discussion, though, is why a serious broadsheet newspaper like *SMH* would go to such lengths in titling their news photographs in this manner. The answer, I believe, lies in the very survival of the newspaper.

4.3 Building communities around shared attitudes and values

As argued earlier in this chapter, definitions of allusion include the notion of authorial intent, and recognizing the involvement of the author in the creation of the text has implications for the potential this has to create a bond between the author and the reader of the text. Word-play now regularly appears in newspaper headlines (Blake 2007: 49) and I argue here that word-image play has been naturalized in the image-nuclear news story in *SMH*, with one important strategy of such word-image play the use of allusion as outlined in this chapter. The reasons for newspaper editors to engage in such play are more complex than one might imagine. While some argue for the health benefits of the use of humour to relieve stress, to lighten the mood, to provide entertainment

(Blake 2007: x), humour can also be used to build community (Chang 2004; Blake 2007; Knight 2008, *this volume*) and to align people with the belief/value systems of others. Taking Stenglin's (2004) point about how museums bond with the community, and modifying her quote slightly to take into account what happens in the image-nuclear news story, it could be said that:

> In cultural institutions like [newspapers], Bonding [via intersemiotic play] is about making [readers] feel welcome and as though they belong, not just to the [institution], but to a community of like-minded people —— people who share similar values, appreciate some or all aspects of their material cultural heritage and enjoy participating in the shared activities that the institution offers. (Stenglin 2004: 402)

Thus, humour through word-play can be used to demonstrate belonging, to create in-groups and out-groups (Blake 2007: xi), all of which is vitally important for newspapers that are keen to retain reading audiences in the face of declining circulations. In other words, newspapers use intersemiotic play to bond with, build and retain loyal audiences. This assumption is supported by arguments made with respect to television shows that make use of allusions. For instance, Calvin (2008) argues that the writers of *Gilmore Girls* actively work to include allusions in the characters' dialogue and the show's plot lines. The effect of such oblique references, he suggests, is that 'fans actively participate in unravelling these allusions, and it is one of the ways in which such an interactive viewing experience captivates an audience' (Calvin 2008: 9).

As far as *SMH* is concerned, engaging readers in such complex intersemiotic play as is evidenced in image-nuclear news stories has numerous effects, some of which are positive and some of which are negative. Allusions draw on the self-reflective nature of the English language and the ways in which we can manipulate the language to comic effect. By making use of them in the headings of image-nuclear news stories, this newspaper is throwing down a challenge to its readers to bond and belong: those who have the linguistic and cultural knowledge to take up this challenge and to solve these riddles can feel as if they belong to a particular *SMH* community, while others, of course, will be excluded from the opportunity to bond in this way. I have also argued elsewhere (see Caple *in progress*; Caple and Bednarek *forthcoming*) that the play may also be viewed as a bonding activity between the journalists and editors responsible for putting these stories in the newspaper, in that they, too, may demonstrate their knowledge and skill in creating puns and allusions as they attempt to outdo each other.

4.4 The effects of bonding through play in news discourse

Finally, let us briefly consider the effects or consequences of this bonding strategy for the news event itself. While this kind of play may well be innocent

in its intentions it arguably does seem to have a somewhat trivializing effect by initially making light of a news event. I have noted elsewhere (see Caple 2006; Caple 2008a; Caple *in progress*) that 15 per cent of the INNSC concerns the reporting of hard news and that 78 per cent of this 15 per cent also includes playful allusions between the heading and image, which raises questions as to the appropriateness of this practice with regard to certain news events. To frame serious events through humorous play may be seen as inappropriate and insensitive both towards the event itself and to the cultural sensitivities of community groups or nations involved in the event. It has the potential to cause offence or to at least contribute to understating the seriousness of an event.

This has been demonstrated in a study on a small sub-set of 40 image-nuclear news stories reporting on environmental happenings by Bednarek and Caple (*forthcoming*), which raises questions as to whether it is good journalistic practice to frame reporting on environmental disasters in such a way. While it may draw readers' attention to a news story about the environment and thus positively work against desensitization, it may also be seen as 'downplaying' the seriousness of these events and their potential human causes. This also has the potential to impact on the way the reader subsequently evaluates the reporting of environmental happenings (Bednarek and Caple *forthcoming*).

To conclude, the use of allusion that spans both words and images in the image-nuclear news story may be viewed as a double-edged sword. On the one hand, the clever play on words and image that dominates this news story genre serves to build community and reader loyalty through bonding with readers via shared understandings of these allusions. The aesthetic pleasure we derive from being able to crack the code heightens our enjoyment of the text and may encourage us to come back for more in the next day's edition. While this may prove a pleasurable experience when reading about festivals or celebrity gossip, there is, on the other hand, a danger in that such play may also offend and drive readers away from the newspaper because of the clash between this play and the seriousness of reported events in some of these stories.

Notes

[1] The concept of bonding has more recently been elaborated by Knight (2008, *this volume*) in theorizing affiliation (taken up also by Caldwell *this volume* and Knox et al. *this volume*), but I am still following Stenglin's original conception of bonding in this chapter as theorized in Stenglin (2004). Note that Knight uses terms such as *affiliation*, *bonds*, and *bonding* etc. in a very technical and very specific sense which may differ from the way these terms are used in this chapter. On the difference between Stenglin's bonding and Knight's bonds/affiliation, see Knight (*this volume*).

[2] The distinction between semiotic resource (e.g. spoken and written language, visual imagery, mathematical symbolism) and semiotic modality (i.e. channel,

e.g. visual, aural) follows O'Halloran (2008: 444). See Zhao (*this volume*) and Zappavigna et al. (*this volume*) for further discussion of intersemiosis.

[3] See Bednarek (*this volume* Note 4) on additional research on intertextuality using SFL paradigms.

[4] Within the SFL metafunctional approach to language, the ideational and interpersonal metafunctions are where experiences are construed and social relations are enacted (Halliday and Matthiessen 2004a). See also Tann (*this volume*).

[5] See Bednarek (*this volume*) for an example of allusion in *Gilmore Girls* and Bednarek (*in progress*) for a more extensive discussion of intertextual references/allusions and bonding in *Gilmore Girls*.

[6] I use the term *heading* rather than *headline* to distinguish this news story genre from the other more established news story genres. Functionally headings are different to other 'headlines' since they interact directly with an image, whereas 'headlines' interact with verbiage.

[7] While the larger study distinguishes between puns and allusions, this chapter only reports on the findings that relate directly to the use of allusion in image-nuclear news stories. I take allusions as being expressions that require knowledge of certain aspects of the culture.

[8] Hard news stories cover the breaking of a story and deal with events and issues such as disasters, accidents, conflicts, crime, announcements and discoveries (Bell 1991).

[9] There will also, naturally, be readers who may recognize the play in image-nuclear news stories, but may choose to skip over it and go straight to the caption where they can read about the news event in a more straightforward manner. Using de Certeau's (1984, cited in Martin and Rose 2003: 270) terminology such a reader may be viewed as a 'tactical' reader, while a 'resistant' reader may choose not to engage with such stories at all.

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Chapter 6

Playing with 'femininity': An Intermodal Analysis of the Bilingual Picture Book *The Ballad of Mulan*

Ping Tian

1 Introduction

As the author was resting in a crowded teahouse in Canton China, two women in their late twenties sitting right next to her were talking about their friends' unsatisfactory married life. One of them sighed, '*Nowadays, there is more and more* ***male*** *in this world, but a lot less* ***man***'.[1] Such an everyday conversation could raise questions such as what is considered as 'male' and what as 'man' in China. More generally, it could also raise heated discussions on gender issues. While gender does feature in this chapter, the focus is not on 'maleness', 'man' or 'masculinity', but rather on what is considered and constructed as 'femaleness' or 'femininity'. Gender-related statements such as the one quoted above are ubiquitous in our everyday life, and however simple they might appear, they are ideologically laden. But surrounding us there are also gender-related images that are less explicit but no less ideological. This chapter analyses a bilingual Chinese-English picture book *The Ballad of Mulan* as a case study and as an entry point to examine how text and image construe 'femaleness' or 'femininity' inter-modally.

In fact, femininity, like masculinity, is a popular yet problematic notion. Scholars and researchers have mapped out its ambiguity, complexity, stereotypical associations, and sociological connotations (Butler 1990, Cameron 1995, Holmes 1997, Coates 1999, Holmes and Schnurr 2006). Many recent studies illustrate that 'femininity' is constructed through the use of language in social interaction (Holmes 1997, Holmes and Schnurr 2006), and assume that 'femininity' is performed (Butler 1990, Coates 1999) rather than pre-given (see also Tann *this volume* on national identity). Similarly, this chapter describes how 'femininity' is construed through the choices of semiotic resources in the visual mode (image) and in the verbal mode (text).[2]

Concerning the visual mode, this study investigates the implementation of drawing techniques in images, i.e. the use of lines and the selection of colors in representing female and male characters. I will discuss how the central charac-

ter, the girl Mulan, is depicted differently before heading to the battlefield, when fighting in the battle and after returning home from the battle. In so doing, this study draws on the theoretical framework of social semiotics developed out of Systemic Functional Linguistics (henceforth SFL, Halliday 1975, 1978, Martin 1992, Halliday and Matthiessen 2007) as well as multimodal discourse analysis (Kress and van Leeuwen 2006, O'Toole 1994) and examines techniques used in representing facial expressions, posture and coloring in the picture book images.

Concerning the verbal mode, this study draws largely on the typology of stories/narratives developed in SFL research on genre and story telling (Rothery and Stenglin 1997, Martin 1996) for analysing the different stages of the 'Mulan' narrative. An appraisal analysis (Martin and White 2005) will also be conducted to illustrate the interpersonal meanings that are construed in the text in different stages of the story,[3] demonstrating how resources are used to articulate affect (Martin and White 2005) and to construe 'femininity' in depicted characters (in particular, Mulan).

1.1 Mulan, femininity and *The Ballad of Mulan*

Children's picture books are rich in meaning making through the co-articulation of visual and linguistic modes (Nodelman 1988, Doonan 1993, 1996, Whalley 1996), and deal with a wide range of themes, e.g. family life, everyday life experience, school stories, friends and humour (as also discussed in Sutherland 1986). Furthermore, picture books have a rich emotional repertoire, ranging from *happiness* and *love* (Andreae and Wojtowyez 1997, Andreae and Parker-Ree 2006, McBratney and Jeram 1994, 2007) to *loneliness, sadness, worry* and *fear* (Nara 2008, Thompson 2008, Wormell 2008), helping young readers to recognize and process different emotions. Targeting young readers, picture books seek to entertain and educate. Inevitably some of them are ideologically laden in relation to gender issues (Hunt 2001, Stephens 1992, 2002).

This chapter uses just one picture book to demonstrate the selection and combination of semiotic resources, and to analyse the construal of femininity in children's picture books. Specifically, *The Ballad of Mulan* is used as a case study to study these issues in a social semiotic perspective (but see Baldry and Thibault 2006, Bateman 1989, 2008, O'Halloran 2008a, and Zappavigna et al. *this volume* on the importance of using multimodal corpora and computational modelling techniques, which, however, are still in their infancy).

The Ballad of Mulan is based on an ancient Chinese ballad for its content and incorporates the traditional Chinese genre paintings skill, *gongbi* to recreate the image of the protagonists. The protagonist Mulan in *The Ballad of Mulan* is a legendary female warrior in ancient China. Mulan first appears in *yuefu* (Guo 1965). The original ballad (as reproduced in Appendix 2) is selected in Chinese textbooks for secondary education and students are required to learn the ballad

by heart. Through generations of interpretation and reinterpretation, the legend has been adapted into various forms and representations within and outside China: novels, opera, TV dramas and Disney movies etc. The selected picture book *The Ballad of Mulan* is the translation and retelling of the ballad, which tells of a girl named Mulan who disguises herself as a man, goes to war in her aged father's place, and fights on the battlefield for 12 years before returning home with honour and glory. As a 'bond-icon',[4] Mulan not only enjoys fame as a symbol of faith, loyalty, and courage in China but was also represented as a model of individuality or as an early feminist in Disney movies, being regarded as 'a form of feminist rebellion against rigid patriarchal social structures' (Flanagan 2002: 82).

1.2 Chinese traditional genre painting and *The Ballad of Mulan*

Apart from drawing largely on the ancient Chinese legend and on the ballad for its content, the selected picture book *The Ballad of Mulan* also adopts the drawing skills of traditional Chinese genre painting, in particular, composition, vantage point and the use of lines to create the images of the protagonists. Chinese genre painting enjoys a long history, and there are numerous discussions on stylistics, aesthetic values and drawing techniques in the literature. Figure 6.1 below briefly illustrates the main contents and skills used in traditional Chinese paintings.[5]

As shown in Figure 6.1, Chinese traditional paintings are divided into two major categories: freehand brushwork (*xieyi*) and meticulous or detailed brushwork (*gongbi*). *Xieyi* is characterized by simple and bold strokes intended to represent the exaggerated likenesses of the objects. *Gongbi* is recognized by its fine brushwork and close attention to details. Though employing different techniques, the two schools depict similar objects/contents, including figures, flowers, animals and landscape etc. The relevant literature on Chinese aesthetics and history of art provides more detailed information on the emergence

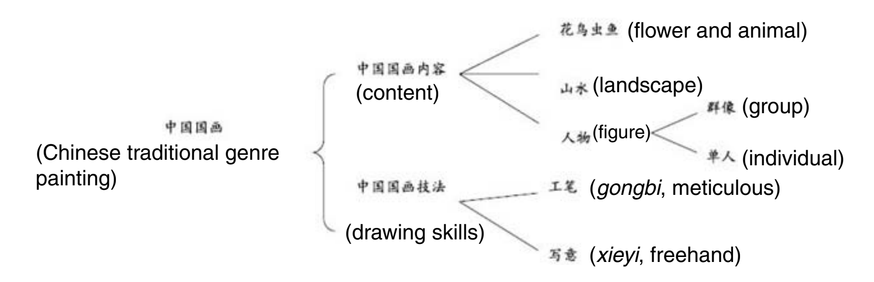


Figure 6.1 Chinese traditional genre painting and drawing skills

and development of genre paintings in relation to the religious, historical and social context. For example Li (2008) suggests that various objects, figures, animals, flowers and landscapes etc. became the centre of depiction and admiration in traditional Chinese painting:

> It is very likely that the emergence of landscape painting occurred around mid-Tang dynasty . . . Similar to figure paintings (represented by the work of Zhang Xuan and Zhou Fang), cow and horse paintings (represented by the work of Han Huang and Han Gan) which finally separated themselves from religious art and had their own artists, landscape, tree, stone, flower and birds became independent aesthetic subjects of depiction, illustration and admiration.[6] (Li 2008: 269)

Stylistic and aesthetic values concerning these skills and paintings have long been under debate and discussion. The major theoretical understanding is the 'spirit' or the relationship between (also, harmonious combination of) spirit and form (神形兼备). Zhou (2008) points out the impact of religions (Buddhism and Taoism) on the aesthetic philosophy underpinning the Chinese figure painting. Intercultural comparisons between paintings in the Chinese tradition and Western ones can also be found in the literature, where the former is described as focused on 'spirit' and the latter as focused on 'form' (Zong 1981, Chen 2007, Li 2007, He 2008, Li 2008, Mu 2007).

In *The Ballad of Mulan,* one finds images that represent flowers (flower painting), birds, and rabbits (animal painting), images depicting the domestic environment, and representations of mountains representing the battlefield (landscape painting). Most prominently, the picture book employs skills in Chinese figure painting in its depiction of the protagonists in the story. The drawing technique used here is '*gongbi* (baimiao)' with colouring. In fact, there are other picture books featuring the same ballad ('Mulan') that make use of different techniques; for example, Lee's (1983) *The Song of Mulan* adopts the skill of '*xieyi* (freehand)' to recreate the image of Mulan. While it would be interesting to compare these works, this is beyond the scope of the current discussion. Rather, in Section 2 the focus is on the use of semiotic resources (both visual and verbal ones) to represent characters, and their combinations in creating interpersonal meanings.

2 Image

In looking first at images in the picture book, I focus on examining the expressiveness of lines, in particular, lines in relation to the folds of clothes and posture. I also investigate facial expressions and the choices of colours in depicting various characters in the picture book.

Realization (lines)		Expressiveness	Intensifying (thinkness)
	vertical	stand stiffly at attention	
	horizontal	lying down	
	curved	sense of flow, movement or gracefulness	
	zigzag	aggressive, sharp	
	parallel	balanced, harmonious, implying continuous movements	

FIGURE 6.2 Expressiveness of lines, adapted from Adams (2008: 13–4)

2.1 The expressiveness of lines

Research on Western and Chinese paintings suggests that lines have expressive meanings (Adams 2008, Zhou 2008). In general, as illustrated in Figure 6.2, a thick straight line can represent toughness or straightforwardness, whereas a thin and curved line can represent softness or can convey a sense of flow. Lines can also be drawn together in a pattern, and repeated patterning normally intensifies the meanings that a single line expresses. This intensifying/amplifying effect is similar to the 'graduation' of meanings in verbiage in appraisal (Martin and White 2005) where the appraising volume is turned up. The following sections discuss how lines are used to depict various characters.

2.1.1 Folds of clothes and posture

In 'real life', folds of the clothes are generally determined by the texture of the material used for the clothes as well as by the human body underneath. In illustrations, the use of lines represents the material, body movement and the posture the depicted character strikes. The images depicting female characters (i.e. Mulan's older sister, the dancers and musicians in the banquet)

in *The Ballad of Mulan* use simple curved lines to illustrate female dresses. Plate 6.1 is an example of how female characters are depicted. In Plate 6.2 we can see more of the male characters, especially the armour for soldiers. The illustrator uses lines that are more condensed, and the patterns are repeated. As a result, the image conveys a sense of power, control and restriction.

However, rather than comparing all male and all female characters in detail, I want to focus on investigating the different lines used to represent Mulan's clothing at different stages of the story: before Mulan heads to the battlefield (illustrated in Plate 6.1), in battle (Plate 6.2) and on her return home from the battlefield (Plate 6.3). This illustrates how 'femaleness' is created with the different 'lines' indicating the posture of the depicted character. In Plate 6.1 Mulan is depicted weaving and is clearly located in the domestic environment. The lines used are thin and light and the fabric of the clothing is represented as silk or silky, creating a sense of flow. Plate 6.3 also depicts Mulan in a domestic environment, though after she comes back from the battle. The lines used are similar to those in Plate 6.1, which are also light and thin, conveying a sense of body movement. Plate 6.2 illustrates the scene of Mulan departing from home for the battlefield. It illustrates the armour that Mulan wears when she changes her 'female' identity into a 'male' identity and heads to the battlefield. The lines used are tough and straight, representing the material of the armour. The repeated pattern depicted conveys a sense of power, control and restriction. The posture is restricted in the frame, showing an upright stance: power and discipline.



Plate 6.1 *The Ballad of Mulan* © Song, N. Z. (1998), Pan Asian Publications (USA) Inc.

In these examples, femininity manifests itself in the traditional way, as a form of dress (silky dresses and sense of flow), a costume or role one puts on (dancers or servants in palace). Moreover, dresses, costumes and roles are articulated through the various choices of semiotic resources for example, lines, in relation to gender. When 'Mulan' enters the male world (impersonate male), masculinity is constructed via a heroic male costume–armour. Here the constructedness of female and male identity is made visible and explicit. Both femininity and masculinity appear. They are relational, constructing and co-constructing each other.

2.1.2 Lines and facial expressions

When illustrating human faces, picture book illustrators can choose to represent them in at least three imagic registerial sub-potentials (henceforth registers; see Martin *this volume* on register and instantiation): minimalist, generic and naturalistic (Welch 2005). In the current study, these three registers are defined as followed:

- **Minimalist:** The use of dot(s) and line(s) to form a symbolic representation of human faces
- **Generic:** Shapes (i.e. circle, oval) are added to represent human faces (two dimensional)
- **Naturalist:** The technique of shading (i.e. cross-hatching, smooth shading and adding volume) to create three-dimensional effect.

Picture book illustrators, like Anthony Browne, are able to shift among these three registers in representing human faces within one picture book (Tian *forthcoming*). But some illustrators also choose to stay in one register for their illustrations. A good example would be the use of photographic portraits in Shaun Tan's *The Arrival.* In *The Ballad of Mulan,* generic representation (where lines and shapes are used to depict human faces) is used throughout the book. In the generic register, more frequent and 'freer' dimensional angle resources (i.e. shapes) are used and we bond more strongly with the human characters than in minimalist representations. At the same time, we are distanced from the characters as well as the story as 'on-lookers', rather than bonding intimately with them as we would if they were represented in naturalistically, which is more three-dimensional and realistic. For example, in Plate 6.1, a domestic environment is illustrated and we can see two women weaving and facing each other. The older one (the mother) seems to be looking directly at Mulan. Simple lines are used to depict eyes and mouth as flat, without three-dimensional effect. Mulan's eyes appear to be downcast. This could be an expression of sorrow or of a sense of duty. In this respect, we need the verbiage and the story to tell us what kind of affect is depicted. The mother's face is not shown to the

reader in this image, and interestingly, Mulan's mother is still mostly hidden from the reader in the following images. It seems as if her emotions must be hidden from the reader.

Plate 6.2 represents the scene of Mulan departing from home and heading to the battlefield. In this image, Mulan's mother's face is again hidden from the reader. Her grief is represented through gesture: holding tightly the hands of Mulan's older sister. Mulan's face is illustrated with eyes looking down, and a relatively level mouth. In the role of a man, Mulan is depicted as having resolve, courage, strength, and containment of emotion. In this image, Mulan's younger brother is represented as 'crying' since we can see quite clearly a teardrop on his face. However, her father does not seem to show much feeling. The gender differentiation shown from the analysis of facial expressions in these plates is as follows: males hide affect, females and children are permitted to express affect, though adult females (like the mother) only do so in a limited way in public displays of affects.

We can briefly relate this to existing research on gender and emotion. In popular belief, the 'female' or 'femininity' is often regarded as more emotional, including but not limited to the public display of emotion (e.g. boys don't cry like girls): 'Emotional expression is seen as one of the key characteristics that distinguishes feminine- and masculine-stereotyped behaviors' (Anderson and Leaper 1998: 420). Emphasizing the importance of situational expectations and individuality, relevant research in intercultural communication suggests that a female is more emotion-oriented (Scollon and Scollon 1995: 232–7). Tannen (1990b) also points to differences in the socialization of boys and girls, as well as differences in body orientation, gaze and postures etc. in non-verbal communication. Tannen (1990a) discusses 'troubles talk', and points out that, where women talk about their problems to emphasize connections and to show sympathy for others, a man is more likely to take it as seeking for information, advice or help. Ethnographic studies argue that certain societies expect women to take up emotional management positions and also discuss the significance of the historical, social and cultural construction of emotion, feeling and affect (Hochschild 1983). Within SFL, Page's (2003) work on childbirth narratives adopts the appraisal framework to examine the evaluation offered by women and men when narrating experiences about childbirth. It reveals that 'the women's narratives are seen as more personalized and exhibiting a higher degree of potential interpersonal involvement than the men's' (Page 2003: 211). In contrast, Anderson and Leaper (1998), which examines emotion talks between friends, demonstrates that 'contrary to self-report studies, no gender differences were found in the frequency of emotions or in the particular types of emotions referenced' (Anderson and Leaper 1998: 419). There are other studies that discuss emotion and gender; however it is beyond the scope of the current study to provide further discussion of these. With respect to *The Ballad of Mulan*, the analysis of the facial expressions leads to findings that align with some of the relevant research mentioned above. Similar to the

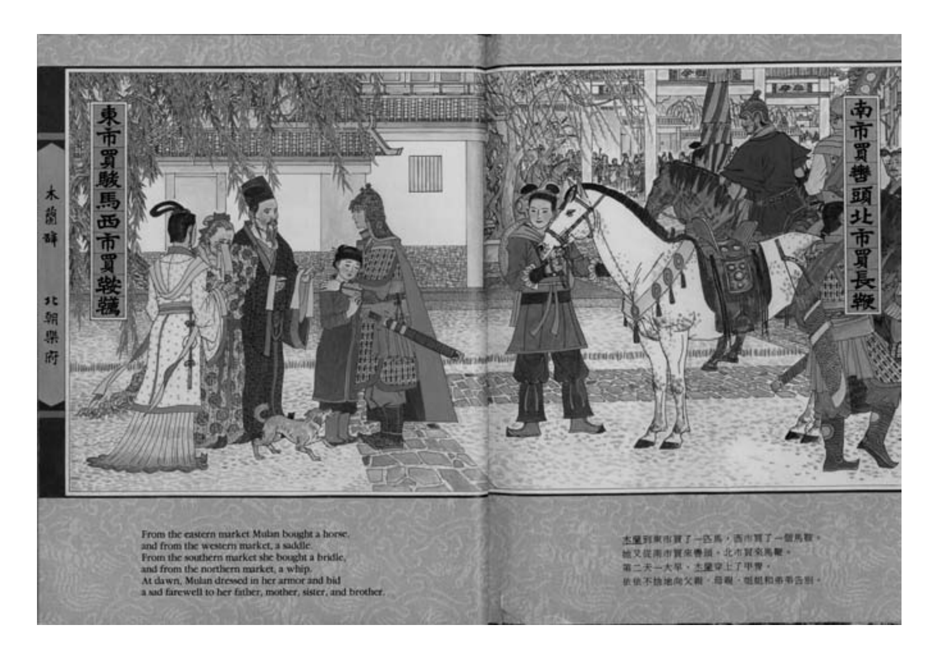


PLATE 6.2 *The Ballad of Mulan* © Song, N. Z. (1998), Pan Asian Publications (USA) Inc.

stereotypical notion that emotional expression is more 'feminine', the female characters are more frequently represented as having/showing 'positive' and 'negative' affect. On the other hand, the representation of male characters, in particular Mulan's father, is more neutral. Therefore, decoding the expressiveness of male characters' facial expressions demands more contextual information. In other words, male characters' feelings tend to be invoked by ideational tokens or ambience (Painter 2008) instead of being inscribed directly (see Section 3.2 below on the difference between invoked/inscribed affect).

2.2 Colour

To date, a number of SFL studies have investigated colour, for instance Kress and van Leeuwen (1996) which 'primarily focus on the meanings associated with colour scales, which, in turn, appear to correlate with Martin and White's APPRAISAL system, especially the evaluative meanings in ATTITUDE . . .' (Stenglin 2004: 371). The current analysis and discussion of colour follows the Munsell system, as this is widely used by artists and designers. This system systematically describes colour in three qualities: hue, value and saturation

(Holtzschue 2002). The basic spectrum in this system includes six hues: red, orange, yellow, green, blue and violet. Stenglin (2004) reviews one of the two criteria that classify the spectrum in the Munsell system: ' . . . firstly whether they are primary or secondary colours; secondly, whether they are warm or cool. Primary colours are those that cannot be broken down into other colours or further reduced into component parts. Thus they are the most different to one another because they do not have any elements in common. These are red, blue and yellow' (Stenglin 2004: 374).

In this section, I focus on investigating the use of colour in relation to gender, in particular how colours are used to distinguish men and women. To do this, examine the colours (e.g. of skin, clothes) that are used for men, for women (e.g. skin, clothes), and for Mulan in her role as a woman and in her adopted role as a male warrior. I also examine whether the choices of colour to represent Mulan change throughout the story. Table 6.1 below provides an analysis of the hues and tone used in representing Mulan throughout the story (for an explanation of abbreviations used in Table 6.1 see Table 6A.1 in Appendix 1). Table 6.1 shows that more hues are used to represent Mulan's clothing when she is departing for and also fighting in the battle, i.e. when she is playing a male role in the male world. Fewer hues are used when depicting Mulan in the domestic arena. In these images, the simultaneous use of many hues (colours) could symbolize complexity while fewer symbolize simplicity. Furthermore, the combination of various colours conveys a sense of turmoil (e.g. the use of colour in depicting the battlefield) and fewer choices in combination give a sense of peace (e.g. the illustration of the domestic environment). In the role of a woman, Mulan is illustrated with simple thin lines and coloured in an organized way, which conveys a sense of peace and

Table 6.1 Colouring Mulan

Time	**Image**	**Color**	
		Skin	**Clothing**
Before battle	Mulan 1&2	P/RP to Vp/RP	B/RP; S/RP; S/R
Departing	Mulan_7&8	Lgr/RP; Lgr/P	Gr/Y; Dl/BG; Dk/GY; Gr/YR; S/RP; Dk/RP; V/B; Gr/GY; Dk/BG; Dl/YR; Lgr/BG; Dl/Y; Dp/P; D/B; L/B; Dl/BG; Dl/RP
In battlefield	Same 7&8		
Returning Home	Mulan_15&16	P/YR; Vp/YR	S/YR; Dk/YR; Dk/GY; L/R; Lgr/RP; Dk/G
	Mulan_23&24	Vp/RP;	Vp/R; Vp/YR; B/RP; B/P; L/YR
	Mulan_25&26	Vp/RP;	V/YR, B/RP, Vp/R, Vp/YR; B/P; L/YR

simplicity in the domestic arena. The same phenomenon can be found in her ‘return home’ images. On the contrary, condensed, thick and repeated lines together with more cluttered colouring are used to represent the turmoil of battle and the male domain.

Table 6.1 also shows the different choices of hues in representing Mulan throughout the story. In the domestic arena, purple and red purple are used. In the role of a man, Mulan’s clothing is depicted in yellow, blue and green, and this combination helps to create a sense of turmoil and complexity, since primary colours, which are the most different from each other (if not contrasting) are chosen in the same text. While the colouring of the clothing changes dramatically throughout the story, the colours used for skin change only slightly in toning (ranging from pale to very pale).

In the above sections, I have discussed the elements construing ‘femininity’ in *The Ballad of Mulan* at the level of expression plane (see Bednarek *this volume*, Martin *this volume* on stratification). The analysis has involved colour, lines (in representing folds of clothes and posture) and facial expressions. These elements have been isolated in the current study for the sake of discussion. This does not mean they are not dialogic; rather, the semiotic resources are interwoven. The choices as well as the combination of these resources help to construe *Mulan* in different stages of story-telling.



Plate 6.3 *The Ballad of Mulan* © Song, N. Z. (1998), Pan Asian Publications (USA) Inc.

3 Verbiage: Projecting the Theme

In addition to the images representing various characters in *The Ballad of Mulan*, verbiage also plays an important part in construing characters, evaluating feelings and behaviours in phases of story-telling. In this section, I will report on the analysis of the generic structure, or staging, of the story of Mulan. An SFL appraisal analysis (Martin and White 2005) will be conducted within various stages of the story in order to investigate how femininity is construed interpersonally.

3.1 Genre and evaluation

The data for discussion in this chapter is a retold story and as Martin and Rose (2008) demonstrate, 'stories are central genres in all cultures, in some form in almost every imaginable situation and stage of life' (Martin and Rose 2008: 49). In analysing the story, I draw on the work done in SFL on genre by Plum (1988), Rothery (1990) and Rothery and Stenglin (1997), which in turn built on Labov and Waletzky (1967) and Hasan (1984). A genre is 'a staged goal-oriented social process' (Martin *this volume*). Concerning story genres 'there are basically five types of texts: recount, anecdote, exemplum, observation and narrative' (Martin and Rose 2008: 49–98). In this chapter, I focus on the discussion of *narrative* since *The Ballad of Mulan* follows the canonical narrative pattern that Rothery and Stenglin (1997: 244) have mapped out (^ signals 'followed by'):

> (Abstract)^ (Synopsis)^ Orientation^ Complication^ Evaluation^ Resolution^ (Coda)

In the canonical narrative pattern, abstract and synopsis are optional. A narrative usually begins with an Orientation that sets the scene, introducing circumstances and protagonists. This is followed by a stage called Complication, where the normality is disrupted by problems. Rothery and Stenglin (1997) describe the disruption of normality in story-telling as follows:

> Dealing with the crisis is the crux of narrative so that 'usuality' is restored in the activity sequence of the field. It is a powerful genre for in-ducting members of the culture into valued ways of behaving, specifically facing up to problems, no matter how difficult or personally threatening, and attempting to overcome them, so that stability is restored and maintained in the activity sequences of the various fields that constitute the culture. In other words, narrative has an important role in construing the value of individuation and in focusing on the necessity of conserving field activity sequence of narrative outweighs that of other story genres. (Rothery and Stenglin 1997: 233)

The Complication tends to be interspersed with appraisal, where feelings are expressed and judgments are provided. Martin and Rose (2008) argue that 'the prosodic trajectory of the interpersonal meanings in Evaluation in a narrative is both backwards, evaluating the preceding events as a Complication, and forward, expecting the following events to be a Resolution' (Martin and Rose 2008: 68). The Resolution provides solutions to problems raised in Complication and the Coda tells the moral of the whole story.[7] Before we look at the generic stages in the selected picture book, however, Section 3.2 introduces attitude.

3.2 Attitude

Attitude is part of the appraisal system – a discourse semantic resource constructing interpersonal meanings with three interacting domains of realisations – 'attitude', 'engagement' and 'graduation' (Martin and White 2005). According to Martin and White (2005) '**Attitude** is concerned with our feelings, including emotional reactions, judgements of behaviour and evaluation of things. **Engagement** deals with sourcing attitudes and the play of voices around opinions in discourse. **Graduation** attends to grading phenomena whereby feelings are amplified and categories blurred' (Martin and White (2005: 35, bold face in original). Attitude is divided into three sub-categories – 'affect', 'judgement' and 'appreciation'. Martin and White (2005) explain these as follows:

> **Affect** is concerned with registering positive and negative feelings: do we feel happy or sad, confident or anxious, interested or bored? . . . **Judgement** deals with attitudes towards behaviour, which we admire or criticize, praise or condemn . . . **Appreciation** involves evaluations of semiotic and natural phenomena, according to the ways in which they are valued or not in a given field. (Martin and White 2005: 42–3, bold face in original)

Furthermore, appraisal can either be 'inscribed' (directly expressed via evaluative lexicogrammar) or 'invoked' (more indirectly triggered through non-attitudinal lexicogrammar). In this chapter, my analysis focuses on inscribed appraisal; invoked appraisal is only occasionally mentioned, as its analysis can be relatively subjective.

The coding of attitude in this chapter also follows Martin and White's sub-categorization of affect, judgement and appreciation. **Affect** is grouped into three major sets of emotion: un/happiness, in/security and dis/satisfaction. Martin and White (2005: 49) state that the un/happiness variable covers emotions concerned with 'affairs of the heart' – sadness, hate, happiness and love; the in/security variable covers emotions concerned with ecosocial well-being – anxiety, fear, confidence and trust; and the dis/satisfaction variable covers emotions concerned with telos (the pursuit of goals) – ennui, displeasure,

curiosity, respect. **Judgement** sub-categories are normality ('how special?'), capacity ('how capable?'), tenacity ('how dependable?'), veracity ('how honest') and propriety ('how far beyond reproach?'). The three sub-categories of **appreciation** are reaction ('did it grab me?'/'did I like it?'), composition ('did it hang together?'/'was it hard to follow?') and valuation ('was it worthwhile?').

It is also possible to double-code text, especially in cases of invoked attitude e.g. in the selected Mulan story 'the invaders are attacking' could be argued to invoke negative affect (insecurity) as well as negative judgement (propriety). However, I will not pursue this level of analysis in the current chapter, but rather focus on the 'prosodic' (Martin and Rose 2008: 68, Martin and White 2005, Tann *this volume*) realisation of interpersonal meanings. The coding of attitude also follows that of Martin and White (2005) in drawing a distinction between *sad* and *not happy*; by notating grammatical negation as 'neg', we can code *not happy* as 'neg +hap', opposed to *sad* as '-hap'. Morphological negation (e.g. *unhappy, insecure*) on the other hand is not arguable, since it is realised lexically, outside Halliday's Mood function; so we will code it as negative rather than negated attitude (i.e. -hap for unhappy, neg +hap for not happy) (Martin and White 2005: 71–3).

The analysis in this chapter uses tables to display results, and the abbreviations used follow those of Martin and White (2005: 71):

+	'positive attitude'
–	'negative attitude'
des	'affect: desire'
hap	'affect: un/happiness'
sec	'affect: in/security'
sat	'affect: dis/satisfaction'
norm	'judgement: normality'
cap	'judgement: capacity'
ten	'judgement: tenacity'
ver	'judgement: veracity'
prop	'judgement: propriety'
reac	'appreciation: reaction'
comp	'appreciation: composition'
val	'appreciation: valuation'

Finally, it must be pointed out that readers encounter different voices in the picture book, that of the narrator telling the story and the projection of characters' conversations or thoughts. In the tables, projected thoughts are coded as ' and projected speech is coded as ". For obvious reasons, the issue of 'point of view' or 'focalization' (Simpson 1993, Toolan 2001) will not be pursued further in this chapter (see also Tann *this volume*).

3.3 Projecting the theme and playing with 'femininity'

The Ballad of Mulan is a narrative with 'father is too old and fragile to fight in the battle' as the main problem and precipitates Mulan's conscious decision to solve the problem by taking action and fighting in her father's place. The story ends with her triumphant return home. The Coda and the Evaluation are associated with the socially valued characteristics of the protagonist, who is represented as loving and caring in the domestic arena, and brave, honourable and responsible in the male world of the battlefield.

I will now briefly go through the attitudes presented in each stage of the story and investigate how feelings are inscribed and how situations/circumstances are appreciated. This will allow some insight into how femininity is construed and how gender-based social roles are valued in the story.

Orientation

Long ago, in a village in northern China, there lived a girl named Mulan.

In the Orientation the time of the story is presented as '*long ago*', which is a typical start for fables or fairy tales. In the same sentence, the location of the story (*village* and *northern China*) is also presented. At this stage, the name of the participant Mulan is identified. These are all items realizing the ideational function, mapping out the context of the story, and, in Rothery and Stenglin's (1997) terms, 'establishing a physical setting' and 'creating a context for understanding what is to follow in the subsequent stages of the genre' (Rothery and Stenglin 1997: 236). At this stage, no instances of interpersonal attitude are found.

Complication

One day, she sat at her loom weaving cloth. Click-clack, click-clack went the loom. Suddenly, the sound of weaving changed to sorrowful **(-affect)** sighs **(-affect)**.

'Mulan, what troubles **(-affect)** you?' her mother asked.

'Nothing, Mother,' Mulan softly (+ **appreciation**) replied.

Mulan's mother asked her again and again, until Mulan finally said, 'Invaders are attacking **(invoke -affect)**. The Emperor is calling for troops. Last night, I saw the draft poster and twelve scrolls of names in the market. Father's name is on every one.'

'But Father is old **(-judgment)** and frail **(-judgment)**,' Mulan sighed **(-affect)**. 'How can he fight? **(invoked -judgment)** He has no grown son and I have no elder brother.'

As the text and Table 6.2 illustrate, in the Complication stage of the 'Mulan' narrative, the 'usuality' is disrupted firstly by *suddenly* and then by the interpersonal items *sorrowful* and *sighs,* forecasting the problem that is coming up. As the text unfolds, we encounter realisations of appreciation (e.g. *softly*) and judgement (e.g. *frail*) as well as realisation of affect. For instance, the behavioural

Table 6.2 Inscribed and invoked attitude in *The Ballad of Mulan* (Complication stage)

Appraising items	Appraiser	Affect	Judgement	Appreciation	Appraised
sorrowful	narrator	-hap			sighs
sighs	narrator	-hap			Mulan
troubles	mother"	-hap			Mulan
softly	narrator			+ comp	Mulan's reply
sighed	narrator	-hap			Mulan
Invaders are attacking	Mulan"	t, -sec			(situation)
old	Mulan"		-cap		father
frail	Mulan"		-cap		father
How can he fight?	Mulan"		t, -cap		father

surge *sigh* inscribes Mulan's unhappiness.[8] Descriptions like *Mulan's mother asked her again and again, until Mulan finally said . . .* construct Mulan as a dutiful daughter, who consciously withdraws her expressions of negative emotions in order not to trouble her mother. In summary, in the Complication, the function of these interpersonal items is, on the one hand, to cumulatively construe the problem that needs to be solved in the later stages of the story and, on the other hand, to construct an image of Mulan as a caring and dutiful daughter.

Let us now look at the Resolution stage. In the Resolution, Mulan takes action to solve the problem raised in the Complication stage. For the sake of analysis, the Resolution is broken down into two parts. The first part of the Resolution is Mulan bidding farewell to her parents, the first scenario in the battle and her getting used to the fighting as well as the environment of the battlefield. The second part starts with the time marker 'after ten years', mainly narrating Mulan's triumphant return from the battle.

Resolution 1

I will go to the markets. I shall buy a saddle and a horse. I must fight in Father's place. From the eastern market Mulan bought a horse, and from the western market, a saddle. From the southern market she bought a bridle, and from the northern market, a whip. At dawn, Mulan dressed in her armour and bid a sad (-**affect**) farewell to her father, mother, sister, and brother. By nightfall she was camped by the bank of the Yellow River. She thought she heard her mother calling her name, but it was only the sound of the river crying (**-affect**). At sunrise Mulan took leave of the Yellow River. At dusk, she reached the peak of the Black Mountain. In the darkness she longed to (**-affect**) hear her father's voice, but heard only the neighing of enemy horse far away. Mulan rode ten thousand miles to fight a hundred battles **(invoke + judgment)**. She crossed peaks and passes like a bird in flight **(invoke +judgement lexical metaphor)**. Nights at the camp were harsh (**-appreciation**) and cold, but Mulan endured (**+judgement**)

Table 6.3 Inscribed and invoked attitude in *The Ballad of Mulan* (Resolution stage)

Appraising items	Appraiser	Affect	Judgement	Appreciation	Appraised
sad	narrator	- hap			farewell
crying	Mulan'	- hap			river
longed to	narrator	+ des			she (Mulan)
rode ten thousand miles to fight a hundred battles	narrator		t, + cap		Mulan
like a bird in flight	narrator		t, + cap		She (Mulan)
harsh	narrator			- comp	nights at camp
endured	narrator		+ ten		every hardship
hardship	narrator		- val		(the battle)
safe	Mulan'			+ val	father
warmed her heart	narrator	+ hap			knowing father was safe
dragged on	narrator			t, -comp	the war
fierce	narrator			- comp	battles
ravaged	narrator			- comp	the land
noble	narrator		+ prop		generals
skill	narrator		+ cap		Mulan
courage	narrator		+ ten		Mulan
respect	narrator		+ cap		her (Mulan)
rank	narrator		+ cap		her (Mulan)

every hardship **(-appreciation)**. Knowing her father was safe **(+appreciation)** warmed her heart **(+affect)**. The war dragged on **(invoke -appreciation)**. Fierce (**-appreciation**) battles ravaged **(-appreciation)** the land. One after another, noble (+**judgment**) generals lost their lives. Mulan's skill (+**judgment**) and courage (+**judgment)** won her respect **(+judgment)** and rank (+**judgment**).

The beginning of Resolution part 1 (detailed analysis provided in Table 6.3) depicts Mulan bidding farewell to her family, departing from the domestic arena and starting the journey into the battle. In this transition period, we can see inscribed negative affect (*sad*) and metaphors like *the river crying*, invoking negative feelings. Additionally, the use of *long to* shows Mulan's negative emotion triggered by her unfulfilled desire to be with the family.

In describing the battle and illustrating the male world that Mulan fights in, there are instances realizing an appreciation of the environment and a judgment of Mulan's skills and personal character. We can see instances realizing appreciation of the environment and the situation that Mulan is facing in the lexical items *harsh, hardship, dragged on, fierce* etc. Some of these are inscribed appreciation, while others are ideational tokens invoking negative appreciation of the situation. In terms of logogenesis (textual development and unfolding; see Martin and Rose 2003, Martin and White 2005, Martin *this volume*), these compound the meaning of *endured* and construct the battle or the problem that Mulan has to solve as, in Rothery and Stenglin's (1997) terms 'difficult', 'personally threatening' and 'attempting to overcome' (Rothery and Stenglin 1997: 240). The text clearly construes Mulan as facing up to the problem and demonstrating

her endurance in tackling hardships, which is highly valued in the given culture and society. As the text continues to unfold, we see instances that realize judgements of propriety and capacity (*courage, respect, rank*). This judgement of personal character is amplified in part 2 of the Resolution where ten years later, after the victory of the battle, Mulan is *praised* by the Emperor, who represents the height of the social hierarchy at that time, then warmly welcomed by the people who live in her village (the community) and finally being greeted by her proud parents (the core unit of the family).

Let us look more closely at the second part of the Resolution.

Resolution 2

After ten years, she returned as a great **(+judgment)** general, triumphant **(+judgment)** and victorious **(+judgment)**! The emperor summoned Mulan to the High Palace. He praised **(+judgment)** her for her bravery **(+judgment)** and leadership **(+judgment)** in battle. The court would bestow many great **(+appreciation)** titles upon her. Mulan would be showered with gifts of gold **(invoke +appreciation)**. 'Worthy **(+judgment)** general, you may have your heart's desire (+ **affect**),' the Emperor said. 'I have no need for honours or gold,' Mulan replied. 'All I ask for is a swift **(+judgment)** camel to take me back home **(+ affect: token of security)**.' The Emperor sent a troop to escort Mulan on her trip. In town, the news of Mulan's return created great excitement **(+affect)**. Holding each other, her proud **(+judgment)** parents walked to the village gate to welcome her. Waiting at home, Mulan's sister beautified **(+appreciation)** herself. Her brother sharpen his knife to prepare a pig and sheep for the feast in Mulan's honour **(+judgment)**. Home at last! Mulan threw open her bedroom door and smiled **(+affect)**. She removed her armour and changed into one of her favourite **(+affect)** dresses. She brushed out her shiny (+**appreciation)** black hair and placed a yellow flower on her face. She looked into the mirror and smiled **(+affect)** again, happy **(+affect)** to be home. What a surprise **(+/-affect)** it was when Mulan appeared at the door! Her comrades were astonished **(+/-affect)** and amazed **(+/-affect)**.[9]

'How is this possible?' they asked.

'How could we have fought side by side with you for ten years and not have known you were a woman?'

As seen in Table 6.4 above, there is a distinctive shift of appraisal when Mulan returns from the outside world, where she is dressed as a male warrior, to the domestic arena. In the male world, Mulan is mostly judged as *triumphant* and *brave* whereas, back in the domestic arena, she is an affectionate woman with shiny black hair who puts on her favourite dress and smiles into the mirror. Linguistically, the male world and the female one are clearly distinguished.

With respect to the Coda (shown in Table 6.5) Mulan's activities and character are described as *glory*, showing that characteristics of bravery, love and generosity are valued.

Table 6.4 Inscribed and invoked attitude in *The Ballad of Mulan* (Resolution stage)

Appraising items	Appraiser	Affect	Judgement	Appreciation	Appraised
Great (general)	narrator		+ cap		she (Mulan)
triumphant	narrator		+ cap		she (Mulan)
victorious	narrator		+ cap		she (Mulan)
praised	He (the emperor)		+ cap		her (Mulan)
bravery	He (emperor)		+ ten		her (Mulan)
leadership	He (emperor)		+ ten		her (Mulan)
great	narrator			+ reac	titles
gift of gold	narrator			t, val	
worthy general	the emperor”		+ ten		(Mulan)
(have your) heart’s desire	the emperor”	+ des			you (Mulan)
no need for	I (Mulan)”	neg +des			honours or gold
honours	I (Mulan)”			+ val	
gold	I (Mulan)”			t, val	
swift	I (Mulan)”		+ cap		camel
take me back home	I (Mulan)”	t, +sec			
(great) excitement	narrator	+hap			Mulan’s return
proud	narrator		+ cap		her parents
beautified	Mulan’s sister			+comp	herself
(in Mulan’s) honour	narrator		+ cap		
smiled	narrator	+hap			Mulan
favourite	Mulan	+hap			dress
shiny	narrator			+comp	black hair
smiled	narrator	+ hap			Mulan
happy	narrator	+ hap			(Mulan)
surprise	narrator	+/-sec			Mulan is a woman
astonished	narrator	+/- sec			Mulan is a woman
amazed	narrator	+/- sec			Mulan is a woman

Table 6.5 Inscribed and invoked attitude in *The Ballad of Mulan* (Coda)

Appraising items	Appraiser	Affect	Judgement	Appreciation	Appraised
likes	Mulan"	+des			male rabbits
prefers to	Mulan"	+des			female rabbits
danger	Mulan"			- val	(situation)
glory	narrator		+cap		Mulan
brave	narrator		+ten		woman
loved	narrator	+des			her family
ask for nothing in return	narrator		t, +prop		(Mulan)

Coda

Mulan replied, 'They say the male rabbit likes to **(+affect)** hop and leap, while the female rabbit prefers to **(+affect)** sit still. But in times of danger **(-appreciation)**, when the two rabbits scurry by, who can tell male from female?' Mulan's glory **(+judgment)** spread through the land. And to this day we sing of this brave **(+judgment)** woman who loved **(+affect)** her family and served her country, asking for nothing in return **(invoked + judgment)**.

In the Coda the text begins pointing us to the moral, providing insight into the theme/message (the rabbit metaphor). In this analogy, the male/men hop and leap (are active), whereas the female/women sit (are passive). However, in times of danger (in an abnormal situation) they both move frantically and respond to the threat (they scurry) – a situation in which you cannot distinguish them. However, another moral or theme is explicitly stated in the last sentence: 'And to this day we sing of this brave woman who loved her family and served her country, asking for nothing in return'.

In summary and relating the Coda to the other stages preceding it, *The Ballad of Mulan* follows the canonical narrative pattern (Orientation^ Complication^ Evaluation[10] ^ Resolution^ Coda): it begins with an Orientation that sets the scene and introduces the protagonist Mulan. The Complication stage illustrates how 'normality' gets disrupted as 'invaders are attacking'. In this stage, Mulan is constructed as a caring and dutiful daughter. In the Resolution, Mulan decisively tackles the problem raised in the previous stage and is constructed as brave and tough. The Coda shows that Mulan's behaviour as well as her personal characteristics are highly valued in the given culture and at various levels in the social system (praised by society, the community and her own family). This theme is anticipated inexplicitly at the end of the Resolution stage, with Mulan's appearance at the door and the astonishment of her comrades at her return to usuality/the domestic arena (Resolution) as well as their praise for accomplishing the impossible. Apart from giving out the key message of the story (in the Coda), the text also constructs Mulan through evaluation, especially in the Resolution stage. As we can see from the analysis in Table 6.3 and Table 6.4, positive judgements of Mulan' s capability and tenacity (dependable) go simultaneously with positive appreciation (her value as a person) – the two

strands run in tandem. This appreciation strand culminates in the *respect, rank,* and *gift of gold* the Emperor wants to *shower* Mulan and the fact that her *glory spread throughout the land.* As a person/character, Mulan gets external glory from the Emperor but the only glory she is interested in is being reunited with her family – love, happiness, their security – is all that matters to her. It motivates her to go to war and fight (in the Complication), and it is the only thing she asks for on her return (Resolution, part 2). The moral does not end with praising her bravery and tenacity during the war. It ends with her glory for 'asking nothing in return' – her ethics which resides completely in the family values she embodies. This message goes beyond gender discourses and further into what is valued in the given society (the valued ethics concerning the relationship between the individual, family and nation/society).[11]

4 Conclusion

As Hunt (1994) points out, '[c]hildren's literature is a remarkable area of writing: it is one of the roots of western culture, it is enjoyed passionately by adults as well as by children, and it has exercised huge talents over hundreds of years. It involves and integrates words and pictures, it overlaps into other modes – video, oral story-telling – and other art forms' (Hunt 1994: 1). While Winnie the Pooh and Peter the Rabbit are part and parcel of young readers growing up in English speaking countries, Mulan and the Monkey King are also 'friends' of children in the Chinese speaking world. While the naughty Peter found himself translated into various languages, Mulan has also reinvented herself in Disney movies and bilingual picture books. As part of the process of socialization, such representations teach young readers about growing up as boys or girls, evaluating behaviours and expressing feelings. To examine this further, this chapter has investigated the visual and linguistic construal of femininity in images and verbiage in a bilingual picture book *The Ballad of Mulan*, with a focus on analysing the images with respect to choices of semiotic resources (i.e. lines, colour) in representing facial expressions as well as posture, and with a focus on analysing the verbiage with respect to appraisal meanings construed in different stages of the narrative. By closely studying three stages of Mulan's story represented separately in two modes, we have seen that Mulan, the protagonist in an ancient Chinese legend, is recreated and depicted differently, both visually and verbally: she is caring, loving and nurturing – 'feminine' enough in the domestic arena, and brave, courageous and decisive – 'masculine' enough in the battle. On the one hand, the story hence reinforces the norms of gender roles, articulating Mulan's femininity via her domestic concerns and caring nature initially and assigning a heroic journey (usually assigned to male characters) only to the impersonated 'male' Mulan. On the other hand, it uses these same representations of gender identity to break down such traditional norms, as Mulan, as one single entity, successfully solves the problems in the

already naturalized male and female domains and seems to shift freely in between stereotypically constructed male and female worlds.

Notes

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[1] Author's translation. Cantonese original: 唉，宜家尼个世界，男性越来越多，男人就越来越少.

[2] In this chapter, the use of the terms *semiotic resource* and *semiotic modality* follows van Leeuwen (2005: 3–6), building in turn on Halliday's point that language is neither a code nor a set of rules but rather a 'resource for making meanings' (Halliday 1978: 192, cited in van Leeuwen 2005: 3). Van Leeuwen (2005) describes 'semiotic resources as the actions and artifacts we use to communicate, whether they are produced physiologically – with our vocal apparatus; with the muscles we use to create facial expressions and gestures, etc. – or by means of technologies – with pen, ink and paper; with computer hardware and software' (van Leeuwen 2005: 3; for a more recent discussion see O'Halloran 2008b). See also Caple (*this volume*), Zhao (*this volume*) and Zappavigna et al. (*this volume*) for further discussion of intersemiosis, and Peled-Elhanan (2009) on the intermodal construal of Israeli/Palestinian identity in Israeli history textbooks.

[3] In the SFL metafunctional approach to meaning, the interpersonal metafunction construes relations between writer and reader, whereas the ideational metafunction construes experience (see Martin *this volume*, Tann *this volume*).

[4] According to Stenglin, 'Bonding icons are emblems or powerfully evocative symbols of social belonging which have a strong potential for rallying. In response to their solidarity function, people can and do rally around these icons. In fact, they instantiate a community and materialise Bonding through the fusion of interpersonal and ideational meanings' (Stenglin 2004: 432). For further discussion on 'bonding' see Caple (*this volume*), and on the related concept of 'affiliation' see Knight (*this volume*).

[5] Figure 6.1 does not represent a system network of Chinese traditional genre paintings but rather a simple taxonomy of the paintings (in terms of content and drawing skills) closely related to the selected picture book. This taxonomy (visualization) does not capture all types of content and various combinations of content represented in Chinese genre paintings, rather, it illustrates how semiotic work is done in the chosen data. The same applies to the discussion of drawing skills.

[6] Author's translation. Chinese original: '山水画的真正独立, 似应在中唐前后. … 正如人物 (张萱, 周昉), 牛马 (韩滉. 韩幹) 从宗教艺术中分化出来而有了专门画家一样, 山水, 树石, 花鸟也当做独立的审美对象而被书写赞颂.' (美的历程, 李泽厚, 2008年, 第269页).

[7] The retold story in English maintains some linguistic features found in the original ballad. For example, in the recount of Mulan buying things in preparation for the battle, *'From the eastern market Mulan bought a horse, and from the western market, a saddle. From the southern market she bought a bridle, and from the northern market, a whip. At dawn,*

Mulan dressed in her armour and bid a sad farewell to her father, mother, sister, and brother. By nightfall she was camped by the bank of the Yellow River' is nearly a literal translation of the ancient text '东市买骏马，西市买鞍鞯南市买辔头，北市买长鞭。朝辞爷娘去，暮宿黄河边' (The English text of the retold Chinese ballad is presented in Appendix 1). The English retelling of the story also draws on the metaphors used in the ancient text in describing the feeling of the participants. An example would be metaphorically assigning negative emotions to a non-human entity, the river: *She thought she heard her mother calling her name, but it was only the sound of the river crying.* (不闻爷娘唤女声，但闻黄河流水鸣溅溅). These are interesting examples of selected features of the bilingual picture book. However a detailed discussion of issues arising in translating the Chinese into the English text is beyond the scope of this chapter, which hence focuses only on the English retelling of the legend.

8 An alternative coding of *sigh* would treat it as invoked affect, because one can also sigh with pleasure, meaning that the lexis *sigh* itself can be said to invoke rather than inscribe negative affect and we need to bring in the context i.e. *sorrowful sighs* into our analysis.

9 *Surprise*, *astonished* and *amazed* are here coded as neutral affect (signalled by +/-), following Bednarek (2008: 161–5), since the emotion of surprise is clearly not considered negative (nor clearly positive) in these instances.

10 The analysis shows that in the selected Mulan story, the Complication is interspersed with Evaluation. The two go hand in hand symbiotically. The Evaluation functions to construct the problem; however, there are interpersonal meanings woven in the other stages of the narrative. Similarly, other research 'describes how appraisals are woven through each shift in field to realise the underlying "theme" of the story, so that successful students are able to read this modernist narrative as a token for an ideological message' (Martin and Rose 2008: 90, citing Martin 1996). In Mulan appraisals are strongest in the Resolution stage because they are pointing the reader to the moral.

11 The text offers a gendered interpretation: women are selfless. However, there is no doubt that the selected text can also be analysed using other concepts such as individuality and nationhood in the Chinese context (see e.g. Sun 2004).

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Appendix 1

Table 6A.1 Abbreviations for colours

Hue		**Tone**	
R	Red	V	Vivid
YR	Yellow Red	S	Strong
Y	Yellow	B	Bright
GY	Green Yellow	P	Pale
G	Green	VP	Very Pale
BG	Blue Green	Lgr	Light Grayish
B	Blue	L	Light
PB	Purple Blue	Gr	Grayish
P	Purple	Dl	Dull
RP	Red Purple	Dp	Deep
		Dk	Dark

From http://www.iricolor.com/04_colorinfo/colorsystem.html (accessed on 26 June 2008).

Appendix 2

* *The Ballad of Mulan* in Chinese simplified
木兰辞
唧唧复唧唧，木兰当户织。
不闻机杼声，唯闻女叹息。
问女何所思？问女何所忆？
女亦无所思，女亦无所忆。
昨夜见军帖，可汗大点兵，
军书十二卷，卷卷有爷名。
阿爷无大儿，木兰无长兄，
愿为市鞍马，从此替爷征。
东市买骏马，西市买鞍鞯，
南市买辔头，北市买长鞭。
旦辞爷娘去，暮宿黄河边。
不闻爷娘唤女声，但闻黄河流水鸣溅溅。
旦辞黄河去，暮至黑山头。
不闻爷娘唤女声，但闻燕山胡骑鸣啾啾。
万里赴戎机，关山度若飞。
朔气传金柝，寒光照铁衣。
将军百战死，壮士十年归。
归来见天子，天子坐明堂。
策勋十二转，赏赐百千强。
可汗问所欲，“木兰不用尚书郎，
愿借明驼千里足，送儿还故乡。”
爷娘闻女来，出郭相扶将。
阿姊闻妹来，当户理红妆。

小弟闻姊来，磨刀霍霍向猪羊。
开我东阁门，坐我西阁床。
脱我战时袍，著我旧时裳。
当窗理云鬓，对镜贴花黄。
出门看伙伴，伙伴皆惊惶。
同行十二年，不知木兰是女郎。
“雄兔脚扑朔，雌兔眼迷离；
两兔傍地走，安能辨我是雄雌！”

Appendix 3

The Ballad of Mulan **(retold by Nan Zhang Song)**

Long ago, in a village in northern China, there lived a girl named Mulan. One day, she sat at her loom weaving cloth. Click-clack, click-clack went the loom. Suddenly, the sound of weaving changed to sorrowful sighs.

'Mulan, what troubles you?' her mother asked.

'Nothing, Mother,' Mulan softly replied.

Mulan's mother asked her again and again, until Mulan finally said, 'Invaders are attacking. The Emperor is calling for troops. Last night, I saw the draft poster and twelve scrolls of names in the market. Father's name is on every one.'

'But Father is old and frail,' Mulan sighed.

'How can he fight? He has no grown son and I have no elder brother. I will go to the markets. I shall buy a saddle and a horse. I must fight in Father's place.'

From the eastern market Mulan bought a horse, and from the western market, a saddle. From the southern market she bought a bridle, and from the northern market, a whip. At dawn, Mulan dressed in her armour and bid a sad farewell to her father, mother, sister, and brother.

By nightfall she was camped by the bank of the Yellow River. She thought she heard her mother calling her name, but it was only the sound of the river crying.

At sunrise Mulan took leave of the Yellow River. At dusk, she reached the peak of the Black Mountain. In the darkness she longed to hear her father's voice, but heard only the neighing of enemy horse far away.

Mulan rode ten thousand miles to fight a hundred battles. She crossed peaks and passes like a bird in flight. Nights at the camp were harsh and cold, but Mulan endured every hardship. Knowing her father was safe warmed her heart.

The war dragged on. Fierce battles ravaged the land. One after another, noble generals lost their lives. Mulan's skill and courage won her respect and rank. After ten years, she returned as a great general, triumphant and victorious!

The emperor summoned Mulan to the High Palace. He praised her for her bravery and leadership in battle. The court would bestow many great titles upon her. Mulan would be showered with gift of gold.

'Worthy general, you may have your heart's desire,' the Emperor said. 'I have no need for honours or gold,' Mulan replied. 'All I ask for is a swift camel to take me back home.' The Emperor sent a troop to escort Mulan on her trip.

In town, the news of Mulan's return created great excitement. Holding each other, her proud parents walked to the village gate to welcome her. Waiting at home, Mulan's sister beautified herself. Her brother sharpened his knife to prepare a pig and sheep for the feast in Mulan's honour.

Home at last! Mulan threw open her bedroom door and smiled. She removed her armour and changed into one of her favourite dresses. She brushed out her shiny black hair and placed a yellow flower on her face. She looked into the mirror and smiled again, happy to be home.

What a surprise it was when Mulan appeared at the door! Her comrades were astonished and amazed. 'How is this possible?' they asked.

'How could we have fought side by side with you for ten years and not have known you were a woman?'

Mulan replied, 'They say the male rabbit likes to hop and leap, while the female rabbit prefers to sit still. But in times of danger, when the two rabbits scurry by, who can tell male from female?' Mulan's glory spread through the land. And to this day we sing of this brave woman who loved her family and served her country, asking for nothing in return.

Chapter 7

Imagining Communities: A Multifunctional Approach to Identity Management in Texts

Ken Tann

We suffered together. It told us that we share a common destiny. And it is through sharing such common experiences that the feeling of living and being one's community is established.

Lee Kwan-Yew, Prime Minister of Singapore 1959–1990

1 Introduction

This chapter explores our everyday understanding of identity as a linguistic phenomenon that emerges from discourse. It reviews major contemporary linguistic theories of identity, and suggests taking a multifunctional approach for a more comprehensive investigation of identity.

Swan and Linehan (2000) describe two common ways to approach identity – a 'referential' approach that treats discourses as the revelation of pre-existing identities and a 'performative' approach that sees identities as created through dialogic processes (Swan and Linehan 2000: 404). In this chapter, I take the latter approach in examining the construction of a sense of a collective community in national stories. From this perspective, nationality is not an essential given preceding the text of such stories. Indeed, if it were supposedly the case that every member of a nation was already born with the same national story, the text of such stories would contribute nothing, and the telling of these stories by one member of the community to another would be superfluous. However, any actual act of communication presupposes the need to establish consensus, while each act of retelling a story – including that of retelling a national story – necessarily involves a storyteller and an audience, and is hence implicated by their individual concerns and purposes. Identity is thus a situational accomplishment, and what it means to be a nation has to be carefully managed in the text each time the national story is retold – the imagining of the community is never truly complete, but always already in progress.

This chapter will consider two useful approaches to identity from such a perspective – Membership Categorization Analysis (henceforth MCA) and

Positioning theory – and explore their complementarity through a Systemic Functional Linguistic (henceforth SFL) interpretation of linguistic structures. I shall argue that MCA and Positioning theory emphasize a different aspect of identity work done through the different metafunctions, and suggest a multifunctional approach to the analysis of identity in texts that takes both perspectives into account.

2 National Identity and Educational Texts

In his seminal work on nationalism, Anderson (2006 [1983]) describes nations as 'imagined communities'. A nation is 'imagined' because 'the members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow-members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion' (Anderson 2006: 6). He argues that the printed text provides the technical means by which the nation as an imagination can be re-presented to the readers (Anderson 2006: 24–5), and to the extent that the printed text facilitates such shared 'imaginings' through language as semiotics, the imagined community is indeed a semiotic community, and one that readers come to recognize as their own. It is therefore useful not only to consider 'imagined communities' as products of semiosis, but also the process through which initiates to these communities are apprenticed into producing similar discourses of their own. Public education seems a suitable place to begin. Macken-Horarik (2003a) for instance, argues that narratives in school have a 'special kind of instructiveness' (Macken-Horarik 2003a: 286) through which readers absorb specific ethical values.

I shall exemplify my analysis of socializing identity discourses with extracts from a Singapore history textbook (Curriculum Planning and Development Division, Ministry of Education 1999) prescribed for secondary level education across the country, to explore the construction and management of postcolonial national identity. The textbook details the official account of how Singapore developed from a British colony to an independent nation. Being an immigrant nation that has its state borders redefined within its short history however,[1] the textbook has a tremendous task of establishing a coherent although somewhat problematic line between who is included and excluded from national identity. It is therefore interesting to examine the way this paradoxically fluid and consistent identity is developed through its discourse.

While it may prove insightful to examine the use of images and diagrams in the textbook, I shall limit my discussion to printed text, as issues of multimodality are dealt with in other chapters of this volume. This chapter will also focus only on the management of collective identity, as opposed to the identity of individuals (see Bednarek *this volume*; Caldwell *this volume*; Tian *this volume*) and the notions of individuation/affiliation (see Knight *this volume*). Given the

constraints of this chapter, I will only be able to touch on the complex issue of identity somewhat superficially by focusing on the instance exclusively (see Bednarek *this volume*; Martin *this volume* on instantiation), but it is my hope nonetheless that this brings us a step closer to engaging SFL in a productive dialogue with other linguistic models of identity.

3 Identities in Discourse

3.1 Social expectation meets semiotic production

I shall reserve the word 'identity' to refer to the commonsense use of the word to distinguish it from 'coding orientation' (Hasan 2005), 'codal variation' (Matthiessen 2007), 'individuation' (Martin 2006) and 'affiliation' (Knight *this volume*).[2] As such, 'identity' as part of discourse involves an attempt by participants to impose some sense of temporal continuity (Linde 1993: 107) onto certain individuals or groups of individuals, and establish some sense of discontinuity (Linde 1993: 111) from others. It involves ascribing particular criteria, such as attributes or ancestry to (groups of) individuals, so as to demarcate them as natural individuals or groups. 'Identity', as it is referred to in this chapter, is therefore both the process and product of a discursive formation that involves a discursive act of 'identification' by a social actor. It comes into play within a situated discourse to maintain a sense of consistency in the social order constructed through the discourse. Nowhere is there a greater requirement to maintain this sense of consistency than in stories that serve to chronicle the history of an individual or community, such as those represented in the history textbook.

The earliest conception of the relationship between participants of discourse in SFL was theorized as part of the context of situation, and is defined by Halliday and Hasan (1985) in terms of 'speech roles' and a 'cluster of socially significant relationships' (Halliday and Hasan 1985: 12; for an overview of more recent work in SFL on individuation/affiliation see Knight *this volume*). Following in this tradition, identities constructed in and through discourse will be treated as a relational phenomenon. The concept of 'role' emphasizes the static rather than dynamic aspects of the interaction (Swan and Linehan 2000: 405) however, and there has been a shift in the focus of recent linguistic work on identity from the notion of 'role' to 'positioning' (e.g. Davies and Harré 1990, Swan and Linehan 2000, etc.), reflecting current trends in social science where individuals are perceived not as fixed 'end products' but as social phenomena that emerge through processes of social interaction (cf. Davies and Harré 1990: 46). This shift is similarly reflected in the work on appraisal in SFL (e.g. Martin and White 2005), where positioning through the use of particular 'keys' relates to phases within a single text.

Linde (1993) observes that despite the fact that individuals are in flux, there is nonetheless a persistent and culturally determined sense of 'oneness' and 'continuity' of the self (Linde 1993: 101), while Edwards and Stokoe (2004) argue that this sense of continuity should not be regarded as an essential claim about selfhood, but a 'strongly sanctioned normative requirement' in society (Edwards and Stokoe 2004: 501–2). The assumption of continuity is therefore not a natural quality of the individual, but a cultural constraint that social actors have to take into consideration in their acts of meaning. Instead of conceptualizing identities as pre-established and stable facts about the interlocutors then, I shall proceed by focusing on the 'normative requirement' of 'oneness' and 'continuity' that the text trades on to construct coherent identities, and examine the mechanisms through which this is achieved within the 'flux' of the text. Identities, in this sense, are produced at the point where social expectation meets semiotic production. Drawing on Halliday and Hasan's (1985) argument that texts should be studied both as products and processes, the problem of the linguist is to combine the conception of identities in discourse 'as product and as process, and to relate both to the notion of the linguistic system that lies behind them' (Halliday and Hasan 1985: 11).

3.2 Narrative identities

National identity/ies in history textbooks such as the one I have analysed are usually established through stories about a communal past. Linde (1993) points out that 'the narrator is maintaining and extending a relationship with the other participants by the act of narrating' (Linde 1993: 112–13), and the identity of the author as a storyteller and that of the reader as audience are relational. Apart from these roles, the stories include a wide cast of characters in their plots – heroes and villains of the national story, people who transcend circumstances of fate to become the nation. These characters come into play in the text as what Benwell and Stokoe (2006) call 'narrative identities' (Benwell and Stokoe 2006: 138), as the relationships involved in the act of narration 'extend not only to relations between interlocutors in the speech situation, but also to relations reported in the narrative and to relations between the participants in the speech situation and the characters in the narrative' (Linde 1993: 113). It is widely acknowledged in narrative analysis that it is necessary to distinguish between the act of narration and the content of narration (cf. Macken-Horarik 2003a: 294), and there are thus two distinct but interrelated sets of relationships (and identities) to consider in the stories.

Linde (1993) similarly argues that it is important to keep these two sets of relations apart because the distinction between them allows for a form of

reflexivity afforded by stories about the self. It is perhaps useful to quote her argument at length here:

> The nature of the process of narration contributes to the creation of this reflexivity, because one can never immediately speak the present in the present . . . this necessarily creates a distinction between the narrator and the protagonist of the narrative, and interposes a distance between them. (Linde 1993: 105)

and again,

> The act of narration itself creates a split between the narrator and the protagonist. It allows the narrator to stand apart from and comment on the actions of the protagonist. (Linde 1993: 123)

The narrative thus provides two distinct forms of subjectivities or positioning that Macken-Horarik (2003a) calls 'intersubjectivity' and 'supersubjectivity',[3] and that Harré and van Langanhove (1991) call 'performative' and 'accountive' positioning,[4] in order to achieve both solidarity (seeing from the characters' point of view) and moral discernment (seeing from the narrator's point of view). A national story thus provides the reader with both vantage points in the story, allowing the reader to empathize with the characters in the first instance, and to re-contextualize this 'shared' experience in terms of a greater moral scheme.

A useful way into the discourse of the Singapore textbook is perhaps through the 'message to pupils' in the preface, where statements are made on the explicit purposes of the text (how successfully these goals are met is a matter open to investigation, of course), and we begin to appreciate the importance of such a mechanism of 'double voicing' afforded by the distance between the narrator and the protagonist:

> *Understanding our past is important because the past shapes the way we are today. The lessons we learn from History can help us avoid the mistakes of the past, think of ways to overcome obstacles and plan the future wisely. (iii)*

In other words, students are required to identify with 'our past', i.e. to establish solidarity with protagonists in the story and see the story from their position, and at the same time recognize those positions as 'mistakes' through the 'lessons' in the story, presumably from the privileged position of the historian. This produces an ever-present tension between the two sets of relations in any such act of narrating: there must be temporal continuity between the various *we* (protagonists) of *our past* and the *we* (interlocutors) of *today*, yet they must also be necessarily kept apart, such that we may position *ourselves* (interlocutors) differently from what *we* (protagonists) used to be, to 'avoid the mistakes of the past.' The double articulation of identities is necessary to serve

the explicit purpose of the textbook to chronicle the past, justify the present, and influence future decisions. More importantly, it is also this interplay of identities that allows interlocutors to identify themselves with the protagonists, and the storytellers to partake in the story they are telling.

4 SFL, MCA, Positioning

4.1 Taking a functional approach to identity

There have been increasing arguments in linguistics against what is known as the 'variationist' approach that attempts to identify correlations between linguistic forms and presupposed social categories, often in terms of causality that are simply assumed by the analyst. They are often criticized as doing little more than 'carve the world into a series of finite categories into which their object of study is then moulded and shaped' (Benwell and Stokoe 2006: 27). Widdicombe (1998b) also observes that identity categories imposed in this way by analysts as frameworks through which texts are interpreted obscure the role of the interpreter and have a tendency to reify the discourses that are studied (Widdicombe 1998b: 204). Furthermore, Hall (1996) makes a strong argument that the treatment of identity as foundational and essential can also be politically exploited. To that end, 'identities' are 'positions that the subject is obliged to take up while always 'knowing' . . . that they are representations' and that 'the effective suturing of a subject to a subject-position requires not only that the subject is "hailed", but that the subject invests in the position' (Hall 1996: 6). In other words, social categories are created as representations, or positions in specific discourses which individuals are invited by the text to occupy, and with which the individuals identify themselves. Through the circular reasoning in such practices, popular discourses on identity are naturalized, essentialized and politicized. It is necessary not only to question the identities themselves, but as Hall argues, the process of 'identification', or the 'articulation' between the identifier and the identified.

One way to problematize the essentializing of categories imposed by such discourses, then, is to study the mechanisms through which those identities are constructed situationally in discourse. Membership categorization research for instance, regards identities as an 'achievement' and a 'tool' (Antaki and Widdicombe 1998) or a 'participants' resource' (Widdicombe 1998b) that is put to specific interactional (or political) use. This view is shared by Positioning theory (e.g. Davies and Harré 1990; Harré and van Langenhove 1991), which studies the process through which subject positions are produced by discourse. In pursuing identity from this constructivist perspective, Davies and Harré (1990) remain strongly sceptical about using any 'transcendental' theory of language that conceives of language as 'an abstract realm of causally potent entities shaping actual speech,' preferring to regard linguistic conventions as

'personal and cultural resources for speakers to draw upon in constructing the present moment' (Davies and Harré 1990: 43–4). Not having a systematic and well developed framework for detailed linguistic analysis, however, their approach has been criticized for lacking clarity in its application to actual data (Benwell and Stokoe 2006: 140–1).

A systemic functional model is a socially oriented one that is similarly based on the conception of language as a resource, as opposed to a system of rules (cf. Martin 1992: 3). It has been developed to take into account the complexity of the social phenomena it models, relating the 'micro' aspects of grammar to the 'macro' levels of discourse and social context. SFL is thus well equipped to handle the multiple dimensions of the text that come into play in the process of categorization and positioning. The three linguistic traditions (MCA, Positioning theory, SFL) share a social constructivist understanding of social interactions as choices made by the interactants within a normative framework, and SFL can perhaps provide identity research with a detailed framework for analysing actual language use. Thus, in this chapter, I suggest a functional approach to identity – one that sees 'identity' not as some discourse-external source that informs the use of language, but as discourse-generated properties of language use that serve specific functions of the discourse.

4.2 Metafunctions and linguistic structures

In the SFL model of language, syntagmatic (see Table 7.1) and paradigmatic (see Table 7.2) relations in language (see Martin *this volume*; Bednarek *this volume* on syntagm and paradigm) are organized by different structuring principles, associated with different modes of meaning known as metafunctions. It is necessary to adopt multiple perspectives on the clause in terms of different functions to understand them within their distinct linguistic environments, or systems of *valeur*, depending on the type of meaning considered, where the structure of the clause enters into relationships of different oppositions. This is an important contribution to clause analysis because the clause has been observed to select for ideational, interpersonal and textual systems relatively independently (cf. Martin 1992: 8–9).

Structurally, the three systems do not map onto the clause in exactly the same way. Using a particulate representation[5] to illustrate the clause in Table 7.1 above, it is apparent that different elements of the clause function quite differently in

Table 7.1 Syntagmatic relations

	Early pioneers	**improved**	**the people's lives.**
Perspective:			
Ideational	Agent	Process	Medium
Interpersonal	Mood		Residue
Textual	Theme	Rheme	

Table 7.2 Paradigmatic relations

Ideational proportions	Early pioneers improved the people's lives. The people's lives improved.
Interpersonal proportions	Early pioneers improved the people's lives. Did early pioneers improve the people's lives?
Textual proportions	Early pioneers improved the people's lives. The people's lives are improved by early pioneers.

different systems. While the finite element in the process functions as part of mood for instance, the same process is also part of Rheme. The difference in structure reflects the difference in proportionalities between the three metafunctions as shown in Table 7.2 (see Halliday and Matthiessen 2004 for a comprehensive discussion on systemic proportionalities). Ideationally, people and events are construed as part of or excluded from the natural world; interpersonally, the clause enacts social relationship between the addresser and addressee; textually, information is fore/backgrounded by the clause.

Furthermore, Martin (1996) points out that the constituency representation of language is a highly reductive model that fails to account for the nucleus/satellite configurations of ideational meaning, suprasegmental and opportunistic realisations of interpersonal meaning and waves of informational prominence as textual meaning.[6] Building on Halliday's (1982) suggestions about the ways in which a text resembles a clause, he extends these structuring principles to the modelling of texts. As texts are structured multifunctionally in this way, it is useful to examine through this model how each of the metafunctions contribute to structuring the features observed in texts by studies on identity. I shall begin by briefly illustrating some of the ways in which the textbook is oriented to the three metafunctions, and suggest the possible links between them and some features observed in MCA and Positioning theory in the following section, before exploring some ways in which the three metafunctions interact in discourse.

4.2.1 Ideational meaning

Language does not merely refer to pre-existent entities, but 'names things, thus construing them into categories; and then, typically, goes further and construes the categories into taxonomies . . .' to provide 'a theory of human experience' (Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 29). It does this by cutting sequences into particulate segments, dividing bounded wholes into parts, or relating parts in unbounded series (Martin 1996: 2). We can observe the segments that the Singapore textbook construes as meaningful units of history under the 'contents' section of the 'message to pupils':

> *The story of Singapore in this book covers the period between 1819 and 1971. It describes the modern beginnings of Singapore and how our pioneering immigrant forefathers*

> *came here to help build a town and a port . . . the story focuses on the determination of the people to struggle against all odds to achieve independence and strive to build a nation. (iii)*

The story details a series of events (came here to help build, struggle against all odds to achieve), their circumstances (the period between 1819 and 1971) and participants (forefathers, the people, a nation) in those events.

The last of these in particular – the construal of participants as categories – has been on the agenda of Sacks' research in the mid-1960s to the early 1970s, and he described the use of categories in social interactions in terms of Membership Categorization Devices (or MCDs). His perspective focuses on categorization as a social act in which 'identity' emerges as a relevant social phenomenon only when someone who is speaking, spoken to or spoken about is cast by the interlocutors into a category with its associated features, and the category is visibly consequential in the interaction (cf. Antaki and Widdicombe 1998: 3). This is because each individual may be categorized in potentially limitless ways, and it is the responsibility of the researcher to establish demonstrably which of them is relevant to the specific instance. Different 'identities' may also be 'operative' in different stretches of the text (Sacks 1992: 327–8). More importantly, such an approach prevents the researcher from imposing unwarranted ideational categories on the interaction that may not be relevant to the interactants themselves (Schegloff 1991), and also arbitrarily preclude the possibility of other categories from the analysis (Stokoe 2005).

MCDs as described by Sacks are organized in sets according to principles specified by particular contexts, such as 'members of a family' or 'types of occupations' (compare also Knight *this volume* on social networks). Leudar et al. (2004) similarly report that the formulation of categories in accounting for the past are coordinated through such internally coherent structures. Membership categories in texts are therefore relational to the extent that they are articulated within the *valeur* set up within such structures (even if those sets are just binary and/or contingent to the specific text). In the case of the Singapore history textbook for instance, the category 'Singaporean' can only be understood by virtue of not being 'Japanese' or 'British' in the MCD 'nationalities'. By the same token, such structures are not necessarily predetermined – the complementarities of 'Singaporean' remain ambiguous before the category is specified in the text by the categories 'Japanese' and 'British', as the category 'Singaporean' can equally belong to such sets as Singaporean vs. permanent residents (in the sense of citizenship status) or Singaporean vs. foreign (place of manufacture).[7] Another important aspect of Sacks' research is his work on 'category-bound features' that allow interlocutors to establish categories as well as infer values associated with the categories (cf. Antaki and Widdicombe 1998: 3–4). The concept of 'category-bound features' has useful implications for relating ideational aspects of categorical work to interpersonal meaning, and will be pursued further in Section 4.3.

However, it seems that there is yet another aspect to the discursive function of categorizing work in texts beyond the categories themselves. Leudar et al. (2004) for instance, found that categories are used to produce an implicit division between 'us' and 'them' that has not been adequately explored in MCA (cf. Leudar et al. 2004: 245). As we shall discuss in 4.2.2 below, categories can be and are often used to position addressees in interactions. Constituency conventions alone provide a very limited view of such other functions as positioning that are present in the text, and it may therefore be useful to complement the analysis with alternative representations.

4.2.2 Interpersonal meaning

Other than segmenting experiences of the world into sequences and entities, Halliday and Matthiessen (2004) also point out that language is always enacting personal and social relationships with other participants (Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 29). The text also includes the writer's attitudes and assessments, judgments of validity and probability, speech functions, mode of exchange (cf. Halliday 1981: 37), activates evaluative stances and positions readers to supply their own assessments (cf. Martin and White 2005: 1). Meanings of this type are suprasegmental in nature, and have been variously described as 'motifs strung throughout a message or phase' (Macken-Horarik 2003b: 313), a 'continuous coloring' and a 'cumulative effect' (Halliday 1979: 66–7).

One such interpersonal resource is evaluative language, or appraisal, through which authors can 'present themselves as recognising, answering, ignoring, challenging, rejecting, fending off, anticipating or accommodating actual or potential interlocutors and the value positions they represent' (Martin and White 2005: 2; see also Tian *this volume*). In her extensive study of historical narratives at junior high school level, Coffin (e.g. 2003; 2006) found appraisal to be a powerful positioning device, and the Systemic framework for studying evaluative language highly applicable in educational contexts for modelling different writing and reading positions. Developed from previous work on tenor (relating to roles/relationships between participants) in SFL (cf. Coffin 2003: 222), the appraisal framework provides a more dynamic approach to the relationship between interlocutors than the notion of discursive roles (see 3.1), because it can be used to map out localized positioning strategies or changes in 'keys' (Coffin 2002: 523). In this way, Appraisal theory argues that the choices made in the use of evaluation produce particular writer's discursive persona (Martin and White 2005: 5–6) and reading positions from which 'characters and events become intelligible, values shareable and the narrative itself coherent' (Macken-Horarik 2003a: 287). A similar argument is made in Positioning theory, according to which subject positions are made available in discourse, and may be adopted, resisted and offered by interlocutors. It is possible to position or be positioned by others, and the way one is positioned influences the

way that person's utterances are understood (Harré and van Langenhove 1991: 395–6). In the Singapore textbook for instance, students are encouraged to take an 'interactive approach', whereby the student

> *. . . can take* ***an active role*** *in the learning of history. You are challenged and encouraged to* ***study and interpret*** *different accounts in History,* ***analyse*** *causes and consequences,* ***think of solutions*** *to problems and* ***make judgments****.* (iii, my bold)

The interpersonal aspect of language has been described by Halliday (1990) as the 'intruder function', because the interpersonal metafunction allows the interlocutor to play a role in the text as social reality. Martin and White (2005: 1) argue that not only does it provide 'the means by which speakers/ writers overtly encode what they present as their own attitudes but also those means by which they more indirectly activate evaluative stances and position readers/listeners to supply their own assessments.' Davies and Harré (1990) similarly observe that

> . . . in telling a fragment of his or her autobiography a speaker assigns parts and characters in the episodes described, both to themselves and to other people, including those taking part in the conversation . . . By giving people parts in a story, whether it be explicit or implicit, a speaker makes available a subject position which the other speaker in the normal course of events would take up. A person can be said thus to 'have been positioned' . . . (48)

Positioning is therefore not limited to the interlocutors, and the text also assigns positions to various categories of people construed in the story against which the readers can be positioned (see 5.3 and 6.2 for a systemic analysis of such positioning).[8] It is interesting to note however, that Positioning theory emphasizes positioning in relational terms. Citing Hollway's (1984) analysis of subjectivity, they explain that 'discourses make available positions for subjects to take up. These positions are in relation to other people . . . placed in relation to each other through the meanings which a particular discourse makes available' (Harré and van Langenhove 1991: 395). This contrastive potential of positioning will be considered in the analysis of interpersonal meaning in 5.3 and 6.2.

4.2.3 Textual meaning

So far I have looked at identities as categories and identities as subject positions, but these have to be accomplished through actual social interaction in text, and it is therefore necessary to consider yet another aspect – that of identities as semiotic reality. Ideational and interpersonal aspects of the text provide the

discourse with the entities and the relationships between those entities. These have to undergo semiotic packaging in the form of textual structuring to be presented as a message that can be employed rhetorically to persuade the audience. Textual resources do not exist independently from ideational and interpersonal ones: ideational resources construe identities as though they are natural realities, interpersonal resources enact those identities as social realities, and textual resources organize them as semiotic realities. This other mode of meaning relates to the construction of text as 'an enabling or facilitating function' that 'build[s] up sequences of discourse, organizing the discursive flow and creating cohesion and continuity as it moves along' (Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 30). Textual resources keep track of participants in discourse, and function to foreground and background identities in the form of what Martin (1996) describes as 'rhythmic peaks of prominence' (Martin 1996: 40).

Thus, while entities and their identities are established as relatively stable sets at each juncture in the discourse, the audience is directed towards specific identities and not others. For example, Halliday and Matthiessen (2004) suggest that the first position in the English clause (known as the Theme in SFL) specifies its angle on the subject matter, and this function is effectively used in the history textbook to produce a seemingly stable dichotomy between two identities in the following extract from page 83 (my bold):

Different Points of View

Some Japanese still think that World War II was not a war of aggression on Japan's part. **They** consider it a war in which Japan was protecting itself against the western powers' refusal to sell raw materials to Japan. **They** also said that it was a war conducted with the purpose of liberating Asia. **Compare** this view with the comment made by Lee Kwan Yew below:

"*If it was a war of liberation*, then *when the Japanese troops entered Singapore*, **we** would have been liberated and free. But **that** was not my experience. **We** were conquered, treated cruelly for three and a half years. So from my personal experience of the war, **I** cannot agree it was a war to liberate Asia."

Which view do you agree with and why?

This text juxtaposes two views that it sets up as binary and disjunctive, and the reader is required to pick one of two, 'which view do you agree with?' The Wh-question precludes the option of reconciling both as equally viable interpretations under different premises such as historical contingency[9] or semantics.[10] Between the two views that the reader is told explicitly to 'compare', one of them is attributed to 'some Japanese', followed twice by the indexical 'they'. While 'they' positions the view interpersonally as the Other, and given the ideational content'Japanese', the first position of the clause places the angle of the text on 'them' as Theme.

This is mediated by a scenario marked by the hypothetical 'if' (*If it was a war of liberation*) that the second text sets out to refute (*but that was not my experience*). This position while being attributed to 'I', is reiterated thrice as the experience of 'we' in the clause initial position.[11] Textual resources (clause initial position in this example) are therefore used to organize the two parts of the text as contrasting intersubjective positions, and to attribute them ideationally to two distinct entities.

Ideational, interpersonal and textual resources thus work collaboratively to produce and manage identities in texts. These semiotic resources are structured differently (see Martin 1992: 10–13 for further discussions on the relationship between structures and metafunctional diversity), and linguistic studies that focus their attention on either one of these structures illuminate a different aspect of identity work. Once we recognize that identities are simultaneously construed, enacted and organized in discourse, we can begin to build more complex pictures of identity management.

4.3 Categorizing and positioning identities

So far, I have looked at ways in which different metafunctions in language function to produce distinguishably different aspects of identity work in texts. These aspects of identities do not occur in isolation however, and they work together as part of actual social interactions. It is therefore not only necessary to attend to these distinct aspects of identity work separately, but to study the interrelations between them. The failure to take all three aspects into consideration could lead either to a naïve understanding of identity narratives at face value, obscuring the identity work on the part of the narrator, or to an overemphasis on the positioning between the interlocutors, failing to observe the rich tapestry of the moral order set up in the discourse.

It has already been pointed out earlier that ideational categories are not merely objective descriptions of the world but are the construal of the world in very specific ways. Ascribing different categories to an entity places the same entity in different normative contexts against which its actions are interpreted. Categories generalize situated actions by individuals as general attributes of people in the category, which is then used to project further expectations of the categorized persons (Jayyusi 1984: 28) including activities, obligations, rights and knowledge (cf. Jayyusi 1984: 35), while positioning calls up culturally established bundles of attributes by extension from the initial attribution (Davies and Harré 1990: 51). In other words, categories facilitate positioning by acting as loci of moral valuations that may translate to moral expectations, and these expectations in turn afford interpretations of social actions associated with the categories, inducing further evaluations. Conversely, categories are also reformulated by changing the predicates normatively bound to them (cf. Leudar et al. 2004: 262). In texts, processes involving specific participants have been observed in SFL research to

'couple' with specific evaluative meaning (e.g. Zappavigna et al. 2008), which suggests that ideational meanings in the unfolding of the text may be similarly induced by the presence of interpersonal ones and vice versa.

For instance, Jayyusi (1984) points out that:

> . . . for some categories X, not only does the displayed lack of certain competences provide grounds for saying that a person is either not X or not a good X . . . but further that some categorizations are usable in explicitly moral ways, so that the fulfilment of moral duties and commitments is basic for the assessment of the performance of category tasks and thus for a person's being constituted as a good X, which is itself central to the notion of being a genuine X . . . (Jayyusi 1984: 44)

There is thus a distinction between categorizing a group of individuals as 'people of Singapore' and categorizing them as 'Singaporeans'. The former involves the category 'people', elaborated with the postmodifier 'of Singapore', specifying a location, whereas the latter is a specific category of people 'Singaporeans' bound with a set of obligations and the moral judgments that may be subsequently invoked through the fulfilment or lack of fulfilment of those obligations (see 6.2). Categories thus make subject positions available in the discourse for the readers to take up, and Davies and Harré (1990) argue that:

> . . . once having taken up a particular position as one's own, a person inevitably sees the world from the vantage point of that position and in terms of the particular images, metaphors, storylines and concepts which are made relevant within the particular discursive practice in which they are positioned. (46)

In this way, each of the three different aspects of identity work based on different particulate, prosodic and periodic structuring principles exerts pressure on one another to propel the text forward. Categorizing a person ideationally puts a moral expectation on the actions of that person that anticipates or requires further positioning with regards to those actions, which in turn generates more categories. In order to study the way in which such re-categorizing and re-positioning occur in the unfolding of the text, we need to consider the global patterns of the text at the stratum of discourse (see Martin and Rose 2003: 3–7 for a discussion on stratification).

5 Identity Management Beyond the Clause

5.1 Identities as process

Sacks (1992) observes changes in 'operative identities' in the course of the interaction he discusses, such that different 'identities' may become relevant at

different junctures of the interaction (Sacks 1992: 327). Antaki (1998) suggests that identity ascription is 'part of the dynamically emerging trajectory of the conversation' (Antaki 1998: 85). Harré and van Langanhove (1991) similarly argue that as the rights, duties and obligations associated with positions are locally and momentarily specified, the positions are unstable in content (Harré and van Langanhove 1991: 404–5). I shall argue in the next two sections that this instability results from the mapping of the three metafunctions in unfolding text.

In discourse structures, each item presumes the previous one, and is presumed by the next in its turn, forming chains of semantic interdependency in the form of what Martin (1992) calls 'covariate structures' (Martin 1992: 25) that are not necessarily grammaticalized in the clause as we shall see in the following sections. One way then to observe the text from a dynamic perspective is to analyse the development of the elements in semantic chains in relation to other such chains.

To demonstrate how identities may emerge from the co-articulation of all three modes of meaning (ideational/interpersonal/textual), only ideation (Section 5.2), appraisal (Section 5.3) and identification (Section 5.4) systems will be considered in this chapter, although they are by no means exhaustive of the discourse semantic systems.

5.2 Construing identities ideationally

In SFL, the system of classification is crucial to the ideational establishment of identities. It is the primary means by which 'continuity of the self' and 'discontinuity from others' are managed in text (see 3.2 for 'continuity' and 'discontinuity'). The establishment of taxonomies is based on the system of ideation that 'focuses on the 'content' of a discourse: what kinds of activities are undertaken, and how participants in these activities are described, how they are classified and what they are composed of. Ideation is concerned with how our experience of 'reality', material and symbolic, is construed in discourse' (Martin and Rose 2003: 66).

Martin (1992) argues that lexical relations are covariate: they simultaneously depend on preceding items and predict subsequent ones in strings (Martin 1992: 331). Membership categories can be similarly treated as semantic strings situationally set up by the discourse without postulating the number of categories or the nature of their relations in advance. Adopting the terminology in Martin (1992), I shall emphasize some parallels between SFL theories of semantic relations and MCA conceptions of categories.[12]

MCA distinguishes a number of different categories that can be related to lexical relations. 'Duplicatively organized categories' are those with specifiable obligations to each other such as members of an institution. They comprise a relatively closed set, and can be analysed as comeronyms (comer). For instance, 'official members' and 'non-official members' make up the 'Legislative Council'. They

are thus comeronyms with the MCD 'Legislative Council' as the superordinate. 'Non-duplicative' categories such as 'nationality' (e.g. 'Japanese') that do not comprise a closed set can be analysed as cohyponyms (cohyp) with the MCD 'nationality' as the superordinate. Standardized relational pairs with reciprocal social roles such as 'the rulers' and 'the ruled' can be analysed as 'converses' (Martin 1992: 302). There is no reason to assume that participants are consistently categorized in the same way throughout the discourse however, and if we adopt a dynamic perspective (see 6.2) on categorization, it will also be interesting to observe the dominance of particular categories in terms of repetition (rep) and synonymy (syn). I shall illustrate the use of such lexical strings with an extract from p.24 where the textbook attempts to account for various groups that make up the early immigrants to the country (see also Figure 7.1 below):[13]

> 2 Contributions of the immigrants
> The early immigrants contributed to the growth of Singapore in many ways. Some helped to build the settlement . . .

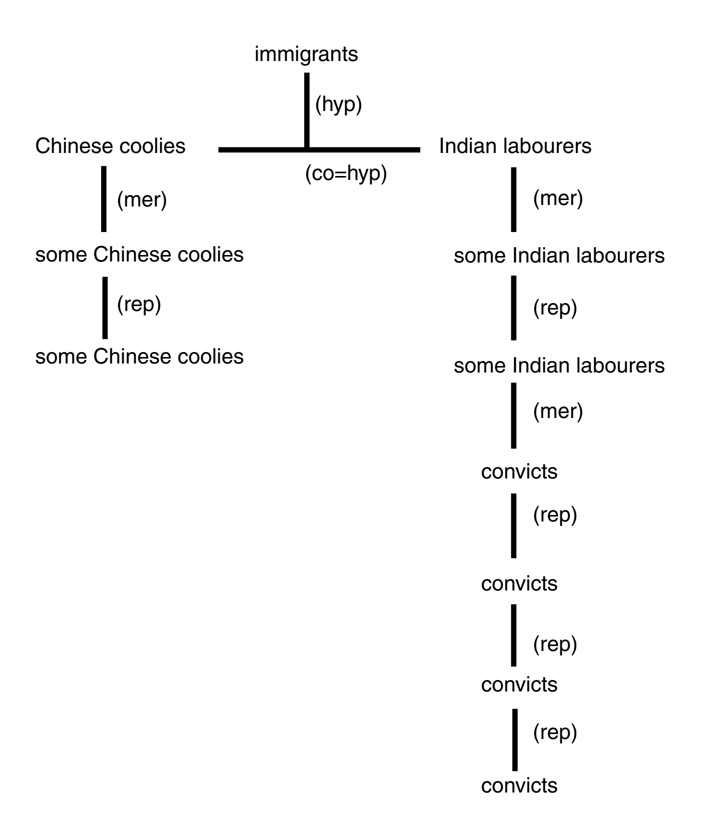


FIGURE 7.1 Taxonomizing the populace

> 2.1 Building the Settlement
> The Chinese coolies and Indian labourers helped in building the settlement. Some of them were employed to clear the jungle areas to make land available for the plantations and for the growth of the town. They worked long hours under the hot sun and received very low pay.
>
> Some of the Indian labourers were convicts who were brought here by the British. As part of their prison sentence, they had to clear the jungle and construct roads, bridges and buildings. The present-day Istana is an example of a public building built with the help of these convicts . . .

As Figure 7.1 shows, 'immigrants' are reclassified as 'Chinese coolies' and 'Indian labourers' (hyponyms), of which a subset of each group (meronyms) are distinguished for further discussion. It is useful to note that while these subsets appear to be singling out specific groups, they are nonetheless deliberately rendered traceable to their superordinates. In other words, the subclassifications and subdivisions of categories are not simply a series of ramblings, but they collectively construe a taxonomy of similarities and differences through which identities are produced differentially.

When lexical strings are traced in such a way, it is easy to discern the way the textbook classifies and divides the population. This allows us to question why particular features (e.g. Chinese) are selected as the criteria for division, and how does the text want us as readers to perceive the social order of the population. At the same time, the various divisions are subsumed through the taxonomy into a collective. This extract occurs at an early stage of the story that describes the origins of the nation, and it is important for the text to appeal to the various majority groups[14] in the demography of the country at this point by establishing categories of ancestry that readers can identify with, as opposed to just a generic category of 'immigrants'.

5.3 Enacting identities interpersonally

Intersubjective positioning in text is managed through appraisal resources, 'concerned with evaluation: the kinds of attitudes that are negotiated in a text, the strength of the feelings involved and the ways in which values are sourced and readers aligned' (Martin and Rose 2003: 22). This includes positive and negative judgement of people and their behaviour. For instance, the following abstract from page 45 of the textbook does not simply detail a series of events. It also evaluates the groups of participants in the story:

> 2.4 The Rulers and the Ruled
> . . . The British did not reward people according to their talents or contributions, but according to their race. So, Asians who were as well qualified or trained as Europeans were not given the senior or more important posts

> (or jobs) in government departments. The government also gave much lower salaries to Asians than Europeans for the same work. Furthermore, young European officials who had just come to Singapore were told not to mix freely with Asians. This shows that certain European officials looked down on Asians.
>
> The British also allowed discrimination to continue outside the government . . .

Apart from construing two distinct categories 'British-Europeans' and 'Asians' (see 5.2) and foregrounding (see 4.2.3) them in a stark dichotomy, the readers are also invited to condemn the 'British' morally, hence also establishing their own positions reflexively on the actions of the 'British'. While the text overtly details the actions of the 'British government' and the conditions faced by 'Asians' in terms of causality ('so') and evidentiality (e.g. 'this shows'), the 'British' are implicitly positioned as being 'racist' in relation to 'Asians' (Table 7.3; negative judgment is indicated with '–ve judg').

The text thus positions itself differently against two distinct groups of participants contrastively (see 4.2.2). Apart from one case of positive evaluation associated with 'Asians' in an embedded clause (*Asians who were as well qualified or trained as Europeans*), the text remains fairly neutral to 'Asians'. The British, government and Europeans are splashed with negative evaluation (Figure 7.2). The text thus sets up two distinct positions relationally, with the 'British' portrayed as perpetrators of racism and 'Asians' as victims.[15]

Figure 7.2 shows the same stretch of discourse in terms of the use of evaluation with those categories. The categories 'British', 'government' and 'European' as well as the subcategory 'European officials' are bundled together on one side of the moral order, where readers are invited to position themselves against them, while 'Asians' are put on the other side where readers are meant to identify with them. The text then sums up the evaluation explicitly at the beginning of the subsequent paragraph (*the British also allowed* ***discrimination*** *to continue outside the government*). The text therefore effectively obliterates any individuals within the categories British, European and government, and indeed between the categories themselves, lumping them together as a single entity that the text

Table 7.3 Positioning the Other

Appraised	Text	Appraisal
British	did not reward people . . . but according to their race	–ve judg
British	Asians were not given important posts	–ve judg
Government	gave lower salaries to Asians	–ve judg
Government	young European officials were told not to mix freely	–ve judg
European officials	certain European officials looked down on Asians	–ve judg

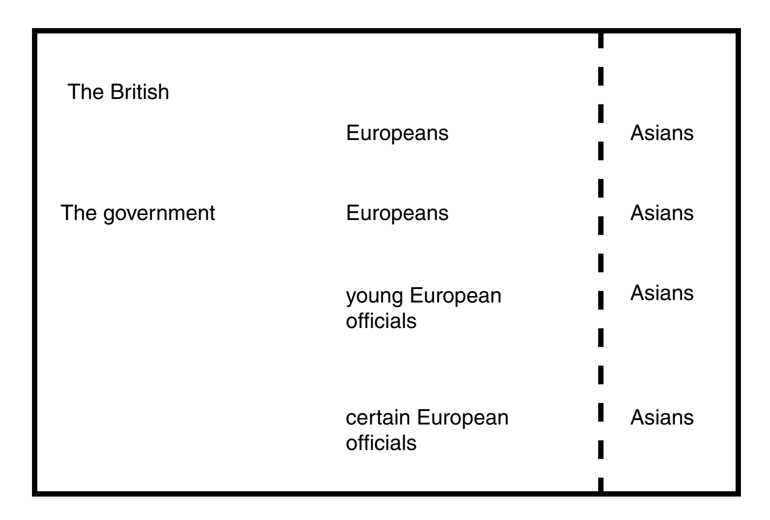


Figure 7.2 Polarizing nationalities

can position itself against as being morally reprehensible – as though one is complicit in social injustice simply by virtue of being 'British'.[16] The use of evaluative resources does not merely enact the position of the author, but is also an invitation to the readers to position themselves similarly. This is explicitly formulated in a little caption at the end of the section:

> *After reading about the British government in Singapore, what is your opinion of the British as rulers?*

The national identity that the textbook establishes is a postcolonial one, and as such it has to position itself evaluatively against the traditional hegemonic identity of the colonial government; it is through establishing the shortcomings of the previous regime that the present one is justified.

5.4 Organizing identities textually

When identities are construed and intersubjectively positioned, they have to be simultaneously introduced into the text and organized as semiotic reality. This is done through the identification system, that is 'concerned with tracking participants: with introducing people and things into a discourse and keeping track of them once there. These are textual resources, concerned with how discourse makes sense to the reader, by keeping track of identities' (Martin and Rose 2003: 145). The text keeps track of identities through chains built from

the cohesive ties provided by the link between presupposing and presupposed information. For instance, it remains ambiguous as to who exactly the pronouns 'we' and 'our' refer to in the following extract from page 82:

i The fall of Singapore shows the importance of being prepared against enemy attacks.
ii Read the following statement by Rear-Admiral Teo Chee Han:
iii "We should remember never again to be unprepared to defend our own country, our families and our way of life.
iv We should remember that the price of peace is eternal preparedness."
v Singaporeans must never depend on a foreign nation to defend our country.
vi The defence of Singapore should be the responsibility of every Singaporean.

The reference 'we' in clauses ii, iii and iv is neither grammatically specified within the clauses nor the preceding ones, and we can only infer exophorically that it includes the speaker to whom the statement is attributed. The average reader is also not expected to know who the Rear-Admiral is. In order to 'recover' this information, it is necessary to read it against the semantic chain that is established for the text as a whole, and I shall model the reference chain using the conventions suggested by Martin (1992: 140–53) as illustrated in Figure 7.3.

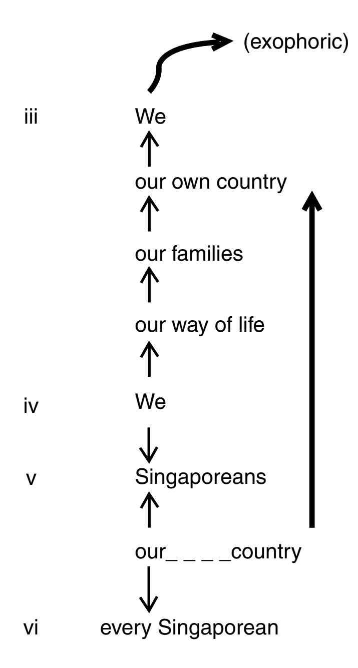


FIGURE 7.3 Presuming identities

In Figure 7.3, the arrows point from the presuming elements towards their presumed elements. As shown in the diagram, the use of the deictic 'we' anticipates some form of clarification that arrives in clause v, where the information 'Singaporeans' is provided. Before we arrive at clause v, however, we may hear the reference 'we' as exophoric, i.e. referring to the author and the reader of the text. Yet clause v requires us to read the same 'we' as referring to the category 'Singaporean'. This therefore conflates the reader with 'Singaporean', enabling the author to categorize the reader as one. Martin (1992) describes the tracking procedures involved in retrieving identification through textual and contextual resources as 'processes the listener must go through to recover any information which is presumed' (Martin 1992: 126), and the text therefore imposes on the reader a requirement to make presumptions about identities in order for the text to be coherent. This requirement reflects the normative requirement to see identities as continuous, and invites readers to partake in organizing the categories in this way, making readers complicit in construing the social world and positioning themselves in specific ways.

6 Co-articulating Identity

6.1 Simultaneously construed, enacted and organized

It was mentioned in 3.2 that part of the explicit purpose of the textbook analysed in this chapter is to chronicle the past, justify the present, and influence future decisions, and as we have seen so far, it involves evaluation and interpretation: the way the past is perceived justifies the present state of affairs, and provides the moral framework from which to subsequently act as a nation. This can only be achieved by establishing a sense of temporal continuity between the people mentioned in the story and the people reading the text now as 'a nation' on the one hand, and by establishing discontinuity from the people who are excluded from this community.

Different aspects of the text contribute to the construction of the borders of such a community in different ways. Ideationally, the 'British' are distinguished from 'Asians', which include 'Chinese coolies' and 'Indian labourers'. Interpersonally, such distinctions are not equally positioned – the 'British' are 'biased' and unfit as government. In terms of identification, 'they' do not even belong to 'us', but are to be understood as a 'foreign country'. The national identity of Singapore is therefore achieved through co-articulation, an effect described by Martin and Rose (2003) as 'systems working together to produce a particular effect' (Martin and Rose 2003: 214). Martin (1992) illustrates the co-articulation of the three aspects of language organized by different structuring principles in Figure 7.4 cited from Pike (Martin 1992: 548).

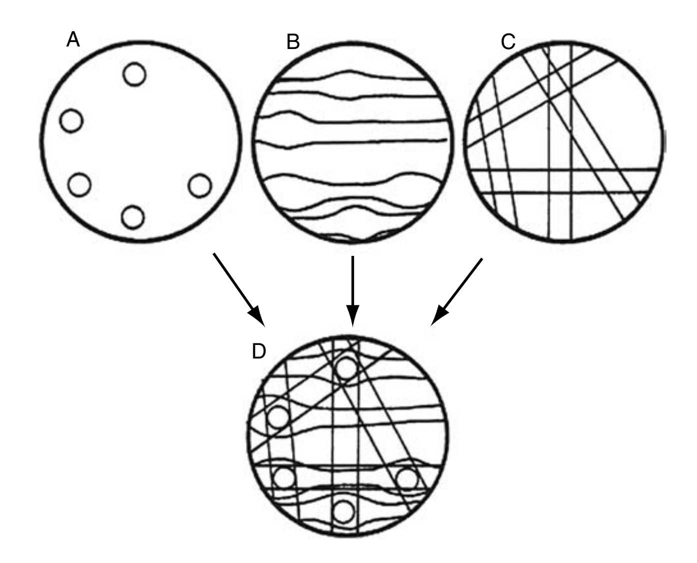


Figure 7.4 Identity as co-articulation of the three metafunctions

Using his analogy, we may think of identities as being categorized and segmented into particulate forms as in A (e.g. labels and taxonomies), positioned in relation to the interlocutors and one another as in B (e.g. splashes of evaluation) and organized as meaningfully linked concepts as in C (e.g. reference chains). The co-articulation between the different systems allows categories to project moral obligations and positions to bundle as collections of attributes around categories. The interactions between these two aspects are managed through the constant foregrounding and backgrounding of information. Identities, from this perspective, are an emergent feature of a text resulting from collaborating systems.

6.2 Orchestrating identities

As I have suggested in 5.1, the categories and positions established in text are by no means stable and consistent throughout the entire length of the text. As the text unfolds, new categories are introduced to define the borders of established ones, while categories that are too broad or narrow may have to be readjusted through introducing new evaluative criteria for readers to position themselves against. Similar chains of participants are positioned differently in relation to other chains, while different chains may be positioned in similar ways. This exerts a pressure on the text to reinvent categories and reposition them as part of the unfolding process, or logogenesis (see Bednarek *this volume*;

Zhao *this volume* for further discussions on logogenesis) of the text. To get an idea of the complex interrelations between identities that readers are required to handle in a history textbook, let us look more closely at the following extract from 81–2 (see also Figure 7.5 below).

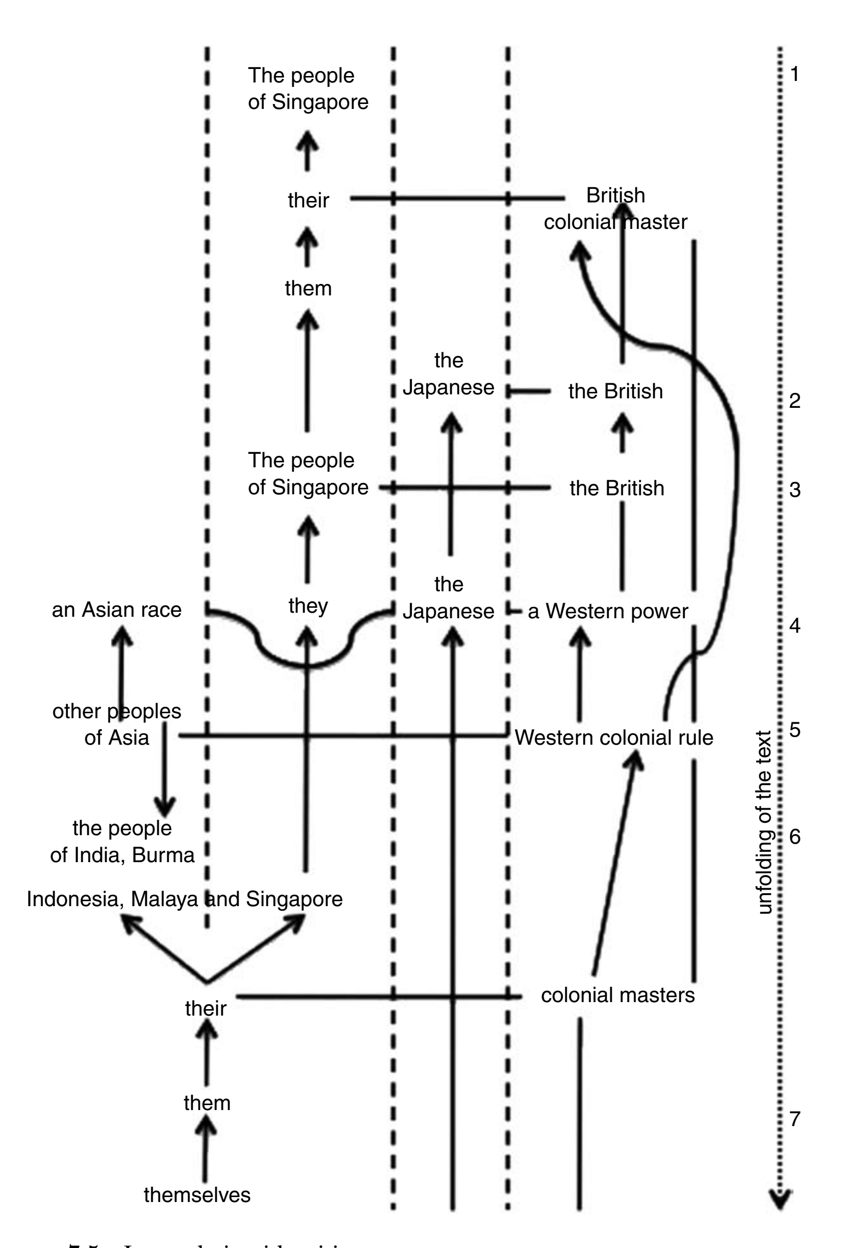


Figure 7.5 Interrelating identities

Lessons Learnt

1. The people of Singapore had looked up to their British colonial masters to protect and defend them.
2. When the Japanese easily defeated the British,
3. . . . the people of Singapore lost their respect for the British.
4. They realized that an Asian race such as the Japanese could be superior to a Western power.
5. The other peoples of Asia who were under western colonial rule also felt the same way.
6. After the war, the people of India, Burma, Indonesia, Malaya and Singapore fought harder to get rid of their colonial masters
7. . . . and to rule their countries themselves.
8. The fall of Singapore shows the importance of being prepared against enemy attacks.
9. Read the following statement by Rear-Admiral Teo Chee Han:
10. "We should remember never again to be unprepared to defend our own country, our families and our way of life.
11. We should remember that the price of peace is eternal preparedness."
12. Singaporeans must never depend on a foreign nation to defend our country.
13. The defence of Singapore should be the responsibility of every Singaporean.
14. Civilians can play a role in civil defence.
15. For example, they can help out in time of war or emergencies by performing tasks like putting out fires, helping the wounded and clearing rubble.

In Figure 7.5 dashed lines divide interpersonal positions that are set up as relative to one another, e.g. *the Japanese could be superior to a Western power.* Solid lines indicate the ideational connections between text elements established through taxonomic (e.g. the British – a Western power) or grammatical (e.g. *the Japanese easily defeated the British*) relations.[17] Arrows connect the elements to the preceding items through cataphoric or anaphoric reference, e.g. *the people of Singapore lost their respect for the British* (their –> the people of Singapore). Thus in this representation, the dashed lines illustrate the prosodic splashes of evaluative motifs colouring portions of the text, solid lines maps out the structuring of taxonomic relations constructed by the text, while the arrows represent pulses of information that refer backwards towards established information or anticipates new information.[18]

Through this representation, we can get a sense of the metafunctions mapping relatively well onto one another to achieve a certain level of coherence: we expect our categories, references and attitudes towards them to remain relatively consistent throughout our discourse. However, we also get a somewhat more complex picture of identities in flux once we map these relations to the unfolding of the text (in dashed arrows). This is because the elements can

then be observed to be differently configured in the course of the text, and each re-configuration in terms of one metafunction is interdependent on another.

For instance, 'the people of Singapore' are contrasted against 'British' in clause 1, while the 'other peoples of Asia' in clause 5 are contrasted against 'western colonial rule'. By the time we get to clause 6, however, 'the people of Singapore' as well as 'the people of India', 'Burma' 'Indonesia' and 'Malaya' are positioned against 'their colonial masters', effectively generalizing and relabeling the 'British' along with 'western colonial rule'. Ideationally therefore, the 'British' have been re-categorized, while interpersonally, the alignment of the 'people of Singapore' against both is maintained. This is enabled by categorizing both the 'British' (clause 1) and other 'Western powers' (clause 6) as 'colonial masters', as the reader is required to retrieve in clause 6 the identification from clause 5 ('western colonial rule') and subsequently clause 1 ('British colonial masters') as the presupposed information, establishing a coherent identification string. Thus, the discourse positions the people of Singapore with those of India and Burma while simultaneously making a distinction between them, and they are both positioned against the British and other countries even though the 'colonial powers' in each case is different.

'The British' are positioned as being unreliable/incapable in contrast to 'the Japanese', category, which is in turn ideationally construed as a hyponym of 'Asian'. This allows 'the British' and 'Western power', its superordinate, to be positioned as weak in relation to India, Burma, Indonesia, Malaya and Singapore ('peoples of Asia'). However, 'the fall of Singapore' (clause 8) presupposes the information in clauses 1 and 2, and is in turn grammatically linked to the category 'enemy'. 'The Japanese' are hence re-cast as the 'enemy', preventing them from being positioned with Singapore as 'people of Asia'. In contrast, India, Burma, Indonesia, Malaya and Singapore are conflated through the label 'peoples of Asia' (clause 5) and the reference 'their' (clauses 6–7). In this way, the categories 'people of Singapore' and 'the British' have been reformulated as 'peoples of Asia' and 'Western colonial masters', i.e. the positioning between two countries has been reformulated as that between 'Asia' and the 'West'.

The categorizations and positionings in this segment of the text pave the way for the establishment of a new category 'Singaporeans' as I have discussed briefly in 5.4. It is perhaps also worth a revisit from a dynamic perspective (see Figure 7.6).

'Singapore' is contrasted against 'enemy' in clause 8, before being reformulated as 'country' in clause 10 so that it now takes the deictic 'our' that is used to set up the identification chain 'We' <– 'our' <– 'our' <– 'our'. As described in 5.4, this chain anticipates the category 'Singaporeans' in clause 12, and the 'people of Singapore' is recast as the new category 'Singaporeans'. The category 'Singaporean' constructs the social context, or *field* of 'nationality' as opposed to 'location', and hence carries moral obligations. Thus, the text is

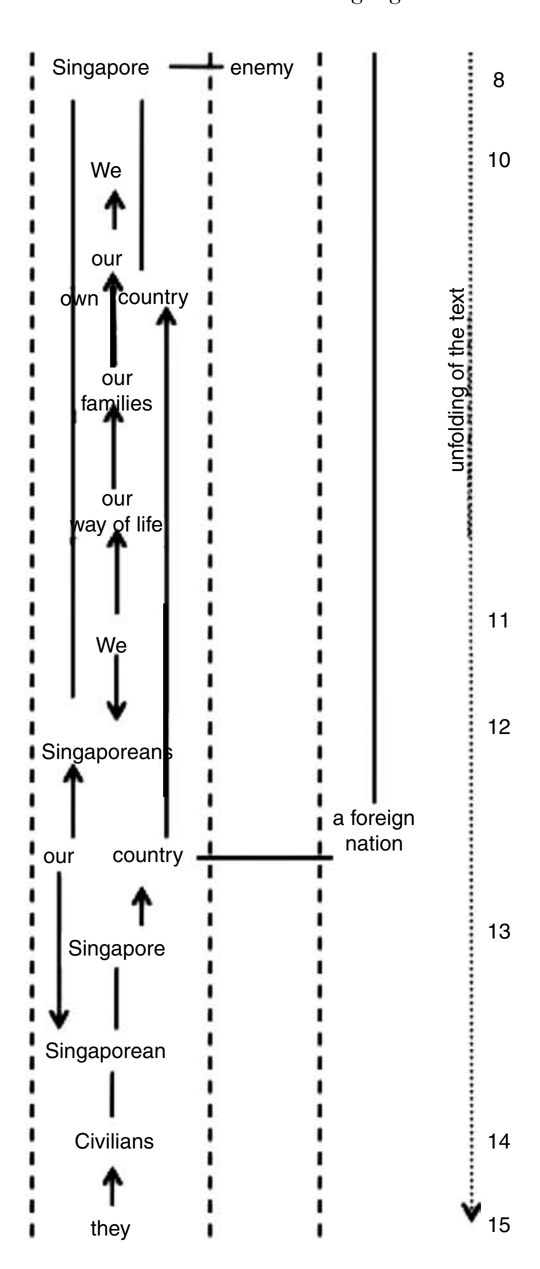


FIGURE 7.6 Reformulating identities

able to introduce modulations (via modal verbs such as *should* and *must*) urging the reader to invest in the subject position created with exhortations to act in ways befitting of the category: *we should remember never again* . . . (clause 10), *we should remember that* . . . (clause 11), *Singaporeans must* . . . (clause 12), etc. The chronicling of the past thus translates as moral instructions for the future, and it is 'identity' that relates the former to the latter.

A dynamic analysis on this stretch of text suggests that 'couplings' (Martin 2000; Zappavigna et al. 2008; see also Knight *this volume* on couplings and bonding) between meanings across metafunctions are not predetermined. They are slippery because categories and positions fluctuate with the changing Other, and this fluctuation provides an impetus to the production of text. Like the counterpoint between voices on a musical score, identities are carefully orchestrated in the unfolding text through the rhythms, prosodies and individual notes of language.

7 Moulding the Future of a Nation

In this chapter I have explored identities constructed in history texts as categories, subject positions and semiotic reality, and I suggested that they corresponded to the three metafunctions in language, and work in unison to produce a national identity, giving it a sense of temporal continuity from a 'communal' past, and a sense of discontinuity that functions to exclude other potential candidates such as the British from this communion. Yet, as a post-colonial nation, these other groups of people play a role in the national story, and may not be easily excised (along with their claim to power) from the very memory that justifies the present status quo. The identities therefore have to necessarily undergo a series of reformulations, involving the re-categorizing and re-positioning of various characters in the narrative to delineate borders demarking those who are included from those who are not.

While we observe the same people being categorized and positioned in a variety of different ways through the length of the text, the brief examination of the examples in this chapter suggests that the choice of one category or position over another in any specific instance is anything but arbitrary. The way categories are formulated facilitates positioning, while positioning relates those categories, and semiotic organization of the text requires us to relate the categories and positions in specific ways. This way, identities are simultaneously construed, enacted and organized in discourse to weave a coherent framework of identities against the background of other changing identities: the stories in the textbook that structure the social order in this way provide the semiotic basis around which readers can bond (see Knight *this volume* on bonding and affiliation) in terms of memories – supposed properties of the subject that must paradoxically be 're-presented' (Anderson 2006: 25) to the subject. These bonds are made so much more powerfully plausible through what Heath (1981)

describes as a 'process of subjection' where the subject is 'presented as the source of the meanings of which it is an effect' (cf. Hall 1996: 7), for what is construed as historical is simultaneously enacted in the present act of reading, and the process of conflation itself is naturalized through semiotic organization. Readers are thus hailed into place within the community by owning the story, i.e. *recognizing* the story as their own, forming what Davies and Harré (1990) describe as 'a conceptual repertoire and a location for persons within the structure of rights for those that use that repertoire' (Davies and Harré 1990: 46).

When we possess the linguistic tools to tease apart the three distinct but interrelated strands of semiotic meanings that collaborate to 'interpellate' (Althusser 1971: 170) the social subject in this way we can begin to ask: What kind of subject positions are offered to readers in the classroom? How do different readers respond to this interpellation? How are social structures and identities reproduced through non-coercive, everyday socialization? My analysis in this chapter suggests that the construction of identities in education warrants further investigation, and we may also take the step towards studying other forms of social reproduction, to investigate how 'identities' are relationally (re)produced in other such apparatuses as religion, family, media, law, etc. (cf. Althusser 1971: 143) in a way that allows us to articulate their mechanisms in linguistic detail.

Notes

1 The place came consecutively under the rule of a British and a Japanese government, before it separated from Malaysia and became a sovereign state. The account therefore has to justify the present system of governance by arguing for why the previous governments are unsuitable candidates for government. One of the main tenets of the argument is that the previous governments were external to the nation, and therefore do not rule in the interest of 'the people'.

2 It is useful to make this terminological distinction because 'identity' in this common sense is at once too narrow and too broad for the application of any of those linguistic parameters: it is too broad because it is simultaneously informed by a number of these factors; it is too narrow because while any number of them may be at play, not all aspects of them are oriented to or activated in the text in question.

3 'Intersubjectivity', according to her, is a position of 'emotional solidarity with or, at least, understanding of the motives of a given character', while 'supersubjectivity' is 'a capacity "to stand over" a character and evaluate her or his actions ethically' (Macken-Horarik 2003a: 287).

4 'Performative positioning' refers to the way interlocutors position themselves in their immediate interaction, while 'accountive positioning' refers to the way interlocutors position themselves vis-à-vis an interaction that is being reported (Harré and van Langenhove 1991: 397).

[5] Martin (1996) argues that even a particulate (see Note 6) representation such as this does not reflect the distinction between the metafunctions adequately as they are structured differently.

[6] Following Halliday (1979), Martin explains that particulate structures 'divide wholes into parts (as in constituency representation),' prosodic structures 'map over a range of segments, as with intonation and long components in phonology,' while periodic ones are 'wave-like . . . as with CVC, salient/non-salient syllable or tonic/non-tonic foot alternations' (Martin 1996: 2). See Martin (1996) for a more comprehensive discussion on the significance of these structuring principles in text analysis.

[7] While it may be pointed out that the category 'Singaporean' in all three cases is interrelated in some way, it is precisely the distinction between these sets (Singaporean vs. Japanese/British; Singaporean vs. permanent residents; Singaporean vs. foreign) that is interesting, as their internal coherence provides a clue to the 'logic' that informs them (see e.g. Leudar et al. 2004). A method to map out this 'logic' systematically will be suggested in 5.2.

[8] These positions may have implications in the further production of new texts that the readers may be engaged in outside of this context, and deserve further investigation.

[9] Note that there is no necessary contradiction in a scenario where a war that began with the intention of protecting and liberating a region ends with cruel treatment.

[10] For instance, over the contentious definition of 'to conquer'.

[11] The sentence 'we were conquered, treated cruelly for three and a half years' contains two processes 'conquered' and 'treated' and therefore constitutes two separate clauses, each with its Theme 'we'.

[12] While I may seem to favour the use of SFL modelling in this analysis, it should also be pointed out in fairness that Martin (1992) maintains a strict distinction between taxonomic relations and their interpersonal implications, and in this respect MCA proves to be more useful in shedding light on the interdependency between them (see 4.3).

[13] As substitution, ellipsis and pronominal reference are dependent on mode and hence the textual aspect of the discourse, they will not be dealt with in ideational analysis, and following Hasan (1984) and Martin (1992: 329–31), they will be filled in with the lexical items they represent.

[14] These are groups that routinely identify/are identified as 'Chinese', 'Malays' and 'Indians'. That these three categories are considered numerically dominant in Singapore is evident in publications such as the Yearbook of Statistics, where they are listed as sociological variables under 'ethnic group' while other varieties are collectively represented under the heading 'others'. We may also infer the salience of 'ethnic' categories to the readers from the way they are routinely imposed in officially sanctioned documents such as birth certificates and state-issued identity cards.

[15] It goes without saying that these categories are themselves construed contingently through the contrastive logic of the discourse, as the category 'Asians' for example consists of a indeterminately fuzzy group that may include – although not necessarily restricted to – people from India, Burma, Indonesia and Malaya, etc. (see 6.2).

[16] Ironically, the text introduces counterexamples of 'British' such as Thomas Dunman and William Pickering as sympathetic benefactors of 'Asians', but they are portrayed as exceptions and no attempts are made to address this potential source of contradiction. This is perhaps testament to the persistent viability of such categories despite or indeed because of their indeterminate perimeters.

[17] Taxonomic relations can also function as identification by providing indirect reference known as 'bridging' (Martin 1992:124). For instance, the category 'Asia' in this passage can be retrieved from the categories 'India, Burma, Indonesia, Malaya and Singapore' through geographical knowledge. Indirect referencing of this sort in this diagram will be simply treated as ideation.

[18] It must be pointed out that identities can be simultaneously and triply articulated within the same segment of text, as in the example 'the people of Singapore had looked up to their British colonial masters to protect and defend them.' Ideationally, the category 'the people of Singapore' is distinguished from 'the British colonial masters' such that one can act on the other; textually, the pronoun 'their' preceding 'British' relates the category back to the former; interpersonally, respect for the 'British' is attributed to 'the people of Singapore' as the source of evaluation.

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Chapter 8

Intersemiotic Relations as Logogenetic Patterns: Towards the Restoration of the Time Dimension in Hypertext Description

Sumin Zhao

1 Orientation

In the past few years, an ongoing concern of systemic functional multimodal theory (hereinafter SF-MDA) has been the development of an integrated framework for analysing intersemiotic relations. A variety of models (e.g. Royce 1998, 2007, Lemke 2002, Macken-Horarik 2004, O'Halloran 2004, Martinec and Salway 2005, Matthiessen 2007, 2008, Unsworth and Cléirigh 2009) have been proposed, offering some promising analytical results. Despite the noticeable differences in their adaptation and treatment of several Systemic Functional Linguistic (SFL) categories (see Section 2), the existing models generally focus on exploring the potential of systemic (paradigmatic) relations for modelling intersemiotic interactions (on paradigmatic vs. syntagmatic relations see Martin *this volume*, Bednarek *this volume*; compare also Section 3.3 below). My aim in this chapter is to contribute to this much-debated topic by proposing a complementary model of intersemiosis, in which relations between various meaning-making resources are treated as **logogenetic patterns**. To put it another way, this model is concerned with the forming of various semiotic relations between semiotic elements during the logogenetic unfolding of a text rather than the systemic relations between different modalities of communication.

The model I propose here has its origins in my work on text and image relations in web-based information texts for primary social science subjects.[1] The major challenge was to develop a framework that addresses both theoretical and practical needs. Theoretically, such a model needs to be able to account for the multi-dimensional and dynamic nature of hypermedia texts, as well as provide generalized guiding principles that ensure reasonable descriptive consistency. From a practical point of view, the model should offer a meta-language that is manageable and can be easily adapted for the practices of multiliteracies (New London Group 2000, Unsworth 2007). It was with this purpose in mind that I gradually shifted away from more conventional approaches in which the theoretical focus has been on testing the adaptability of various SFL parameters

in MDA. Rather, in developing a new model, I have focused on deciphering the nature of the semiotic relations. Instead of probing whether and how existing linguistic tools could be adapted to analyse new data (in my case, hypertext), I seek to discover the type of model required to capture the new (if any) sets of semiotic relations present in hypertext. However, it must be emphasized that the adaptation of theory and the interpretation of the nature of semiosis are *not* two separate projects. The SFL parameters we select and the ways in which we modify them manifest our understanding of the nature of multimodal discourse. Likewise, my reading of intersemiosis as logogenetic patterning reflects the influences of Martin's work on discourse process and structure (Martin 1985, 1991, 1992, 1995, 1996, 2000a, Martin and Rose 2008), Gregory's (2005) Phasal analysis theory, and Halliday and Matthiessen's (1999, 2004) general theory of social semiotics and its implications for MDA (Matthiessen 2007).[2]

In the remainder of this chapter, I will illustrate my model in three steps. In Section 2, I will map out the essential semiotic relations in hypermedia texts through the reinterpretation of the concept of **hypermodality** (Lemke 2002) and **semogenesis** (Halliday and Matthiessen 1999). The purpose of this exercise is to demonstrate the constraints of the systemic-oriented approach in dealing with multi-dimensional data. I will then present the theoretical foundations for a possible alternative in Section 3. The central argument is that one possible solution for modelling multiple dimensionalities in multimodal texts without significantly increasing descriptive complexity is to restore the time dimension in our model of human semiosis. Finally, in Section 4 I will demonstrate the analytical application of the model, using hypertexts for primary social science subjects sourced from the National Museum of Australia website.

2 Hypermodality and Semogenesis

2.1 Hypermodality

Lemke (2002) proposed the notion of *hypermodality* as a way to capture the semiotic characteristics of hypermedia texts. Hypermodality, in his words:

> . . . is the conflation of *multimodality* and *hypertextuality*. Not only do we have linkages among text units of various scales, but we have linkages among text units, visual elements, and sound units. And these go beyond the default conventions of traditional multimodal genres. (Lemke 2002: 301, italics mine)

The blueprint Lemke has provided for multimodal analysts involves two fundamental tasks: (1) an exploration of the semantics of hypertextuality or hypertext semantics, i.e. the 'affordances [~ possibilities] of the hypertext medium for constructing meaning-relationships along traversals [the user's pathway through the hypertext]' (Lemke 2002: 306), and (2) a description of the ways

in which language, image, and other semiotic resources interact to make meaning.

SF-MDA research on hypermedia texts has evolved more or less around the two themes identified by Lemke. The general approach has been to explore the adaptability of SFL categories in analysing hypertexts. Lemke's (2002, n.d.) own work focuses on hypertext semantics, exploring the semantic resources interconnecting hyperlinked text units on different scales. Despite its explorative nature (cf. Lemke 2002: 307), Lemke's work has provided some useful insights. For instance, he points out the value of genre theory (following Martin 1992) and cohesion chains (Halliday and Hasan 1976) in interpreting semantic interconnections between hyperlinks as well as their disadvantages in treating hierarchically organized information in hypertext.

The most comprehensive SFL-oriented work on hypertext semantics to date has been Djonov's (2005, 2007) research on children's websites. Her research elucidates the ways in which information is organized in hypertexts through two frameworks: website hierarchy and logico-semantic relations. The former deals with the hierarchical organization of information on websites, whereas the latter describes the semantic resources linking texts on various scales. A major contribution of Djonov's work is its exhaustiveness in systemic descriptions. By testing the power of the system network to its full extent, her work suggests the need for seeking a complementary perspective.

While the literature on hypertextuality (e.g. Chiew 2004, Knox 2007) is relatively limited, there has been a fruitful body of work examining the nature of intersemiotic interactions (e.g. Royce 1998, 2007, Lemke 2002, O'Halloran 2004, 2008, Martinec and Salway 2005, Matthiessen 2007, Unsworth and Cléirigh *forthcoming*). Table 8.1 summarizes the differences across major models according to their treatments of three interrelated issues: (1) stratification, (2) metafunction, and (3) the availability of systematized descriptions and the original SFL systems the models draw on (for a detailed account of SFL parameters, including stratification and metafunction, see Martin *this volume*, Bednarek *this volume*). A comprehensive survey of the models is beyond the scope of this paper. I will, therefore, focus on the issues pertinent to the argument of the paper.

The core of an intersemiotic model consists of its view on *where* and *how* semiotic systems integrate. The question of 'where' concerns the stratum/strata and the metafunction(s) in which the intersemiotic integration occurs. As Table 8.1 shows, the consensus on stratification seems to be that the semantic stratum (content plane) holds the main responsibility for coordinating semiotic resources of various types. Although O'Halloran's (2008) framework does include intersemiotic systems at the strata of grammar and the expression plane, the theoretical rationale behind this framework requires further clarification. Regarding metafunctions, there exist two general approaches. The metafunctional approaches (e.g. Royce 2007, O'Halloran 2008) propose metafunctionally based systems for intersemiosis. The alternative approaches (e.g. Martinec and

Table 8.1 An overview of the major intersemiotic models

	Stratification		**Metafunctional focus**	**Systemic descriptions**	
	Number(s) of strata across modalities	*Strata/stratum in which integration occurs*		*Original linguistic systems*	*Availability of systematized descriptions*[a]
Lemke (2002)	NA	semantics	all three	e.g. speech function, logico-semantic relations, cohesion	NA
Matthiessen (2007)	language: 3 MOLs:[b] 2	semantics	ideational	rhetorical relation - RST	yes[c]
Unsworth & Cléirigh (forthcoming)	language: 3 MOLs: 2	semantics	ideational	identification	yes
O'Halloran (2005, 2008)[6]	3	all strata	all three	e.g. transitivity, speech function, modality, logico-semantic relations, etc	partial
Martinec & Salway (2005)	NA	semantics	ideational	logico-semantic relations	yes
Royce (1998, 2007)[d]	3	semantics	all three	e.g. lexical cohesion, modality	partial

[a] For instance, the availability of system networks, paradigmatic choices, entry conditions and structural realization.
[b] MOLs is short for 'modalities other than language'.
[c] Matthiessen does not propose any modifications of original Rhetorical Structure Theory (RST) relations in his paper.
[d] There have been some developments in O'Halloran and Royce's work over the years. The table presents a general summary of their models.

Salway 2005, Matthiessen 2007) treat intersemiosis as semantic relations (e.g. logico-semantic relations, rhetorical relations) that glue together different modalities and metafunctions. A model's stance on *how* various semiotic systems interact is evident in its choice of source SFL systems (e.g. RST in Matthessien 2007a, logico-semantic relations in Martinec and Salway 2005, O'Halloran 2008) and the ways in which the systems are modified. In short, the differences between the major models consist in their conceptualization of the SFL theoretical categories (e.g. stratification, system) as well as their adaptation of the descriptive ones (e.g. logico-semantic relations, conjunction; for the distinction between the two categories see Halliday 2002 [1992]).

Despite these differences, the challenges that SF-MDA theorists face are essentially the same. One such challenge is to provide consistent systemic (paradigmatic) accounts (cf. Matthiessen 2007: 3–4). There are at least two foreseeable theoretical difficulties to overcome:

1. *To verify the adaptability of the linguistic categories:* The first issue concerns the validity of theoretical borrowings, i.e. how and to what extent the linguistic – theoretical and descriptive – categories can be used in the description of modalities other than language (MOLs) and multimodal texts in general. The adoption of SFL theoretical categories requires the verification of the universality of these categories across modalities (for debates on metafunction and stratification in MDA see Martinec 2005; see Caldwell *this volume* for the discussion of metafunctional organization in music). While adapting a descriptive category, it is critical to clarify the new category's relation with the original SFL category and with other categories in the new system. If, hypothetically, we borrow from Halliday's description of transitivity (Halliday and Matthiessen 2004) in language, and label an image as the Carrier and its related verbal text as the Attributes, we need to specify the criteria by which we define the two terms. And the new terms should in no way be the 'same' as the labels in the linguistic system of transitivity, as Carrier in language is defined not only in relation to Attributes, but also to its paradigmatic alternatives (e.g. Token), to the notion of clause, to functional variants of the clause such as Theme, and so on.
2. *To exhaust the paradigmatic systems and choices:* A comprehensive intersemiotic model should provide a sufficient number of systems to account for semiotic variables of various sorts (e.g. metafunctional, registeral), and at the same time it should be able to present the paradigmatic choices within each subsystem. The mapping of paradigmatic choices for multimodal systems is undoubtedly a laborious task. Theoretically speaking, if we were to account for the metafunctional variables of only two modalities on a lower stratum, there could potentially be three subsystems for each and three more intersemiotic systems. The inclusion of stratal variables will further increase the complexity, as the size of subsystems increases when we move to upper strata (Martin and Matthiessen 1991; see also Bateman 2008a for a discussion of

statistic probability with respect to selection expressions in systemic networks). To put it simply, using Lemke's (2002: 303) words,

> . . . when we combine text and images, each specific imagetext (Mitchell, 1994) is now one possible selection from the universes of all possible imagetexts, and that universe is the multiplicative product of the set of all possible linguistic texts and the set of all possible images.

Even if we are able to develop some theoretically accountable multimodal systems, the stability of these systems will still be a problem. I shall elaborate on this point in the following section.

2.2 Semogenesis

In SFL theory, language (semiosis) is perceived both as a *product* and a *process*. The process aspect is modelled through the concept of **semogenesis** (the process of meaning making). Halliday and Matthiessen (1999: 17–18) identified three basic types of semogenetic processes, taking place within three different timeframes: (1) **phylogenesis**, the evolution of meaning potential in the human species (the phylogenetic timeframe); (2) **ontogenesis**, the development of an individual's meaning potential (the ontogenetic timeframe), and (3) **logogenesis**, the unfolding of meaning in a text (the logogenetic timeframe).

Phylogenesis and logogenesis are particularly relevant to the discussion of hypermodality. From the perspective of phylogenesis, we are dealing with semiotic systems that are at different stages of their 'evolution'. Kress and van Leeuwen (2006 [1996]), for instance, have observed a rapid shift in the division of semiotic labour between image and language in the past few decades. Therefore, to systematize the meaning potential of modalities like image, we need to acknowledge the temporary nature of our systems. Because of the constantly evolving nature of hypermedia genres, this problem is particularly visible in hypertext description. Knox (*forthcoming*), for example, describes major shifts in the layout on the home page of *The Sydney Morning Herald* in a short span of four years through three paradigmatic systems. Thanks to the expansiveness of his system networks, Knox is able to elicit the changing practice of contemporary online news and to showcase the 'robustness of realisational systems' (Butt 2008). However, the 'economy' (i.e. effectiveness) of developing such systemic descriptions is not clear at the moment. On the one hand, the time-consuming nature of the task seems to put discourse analysts out of step with the rapid changes of the social semiotic landscape. On the other hand, paradigmatic systems are essentially 'snapshots' of the stages in the phylogenetic process rather than a model of the ongoing process itself.

Our perceptions of logogenesis are also constantly being challenged by the evolution of hypermedia text. A text in the traditional medium is usually bounded by space (e.g. a page or a book) or a period of time (e.g. a dinner

table conversation). It also foregrounds the linear unfolding of information. (Although strictly speaking only time-based text – spoken discourse – is linear, the page layout of traditional print text nevertheless forces 'pseudo' linearity). The SFL theory of text is essentially a constituency-based one. That is, a text is perceived as a semantic unit (cf. Halliday and Matthiessen 2004) and structurally analogical to a clause (cf. Martin 1995). In the traditional medium, the constituency border of a text unit typically conflates the boundary posed by the medium. For instance, an image-nuclear news story in a print broadsheet (see Caple *this volume*) can be treated as a semantic unit of text, and is visually separated from other units by compositional resources available in the print medium, e.g. framing lines or empty space (Kress and van Leeuwen 2006). A constituency model thus seems to be both a natural and preferable theoretical choice.

In the hypertext medium, however, the boundary of a text is fluid. A hyperlinked unit on the WWW could potentially be linked to an infinite number of texts within and beyond the same website (Djonov 2005). A reader's navigation could stop on the first page or go on for a considerable period of time. Furthermore, although the hypertext medium organizes information using non-linear structure, a trajectory or traversal (Lemke n.d.) through a page or a website is linear. To determine a text unit in hypertext becomes a challenging task given the lack of physical boundaries. Even when the analytical unit is determined, we still need to map out the differences between various traversals and their relations to the hypertext.

2.3 Hypermodality and semogenesis reinterpreted

So far, I have illustrated the theoretical complications regarding the study of hypertext through a brief review of the major literature in SFL. The complexity of hypermodality is a reflection of the nature of the data as well as our predisposed SFL readings of the data. Simply put, the reason we believe that we need to account for metafunctional, stratal or registeral variations in hypertext is that we already assume these linguistics categories exist and matter. However, these categories are essentially formed based on our understanding of language, and its applicability in the description of multimodal discourse is still subject to verification (Zhao *forthcoming*). This seems to be the source of our dilemma. To solve this problem in hypertext description, in my opinion, calls for some 'catastrophic change' (Halliday 2002 [1992]: 203) in our thinking about semiosis.

I will argue that one area that demands radical rethinking is our understanding of semogenesis, in particular our modelling of logogenesis – text as a meaning-making *process*. In my attempt to build a systemic description of the data, it became noticeable that one set of intersemiotic relations is not only determined by its contrast to another set of intersemiotic relations, but also by its position in the logogenetic unfolding and its relation to the elements that come before

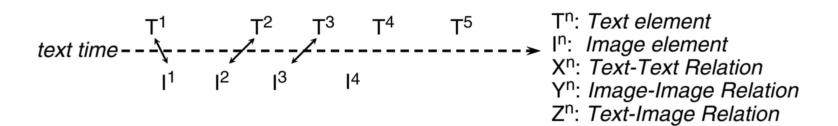


Figure 8.1 Reinterpreting intersemiotic relations

Z1
Z2
Z3

Figure 8.1a Mapping paradigmatic relations

T1 T2 T3 T4 T5
Z1 y1 x1
I1 I2 I3 I4

Figure 8.1b Reinterpreting intersemiosis

and after them. In Figure 8.1, for example, we have $Text^n$ and $Image^n$, and the relation between them is represented as Z^n.

If we are to map Z1, Z2 and Z3 paradigmatically as in Figure 8.1a, the challenge is to specify the motivating feature that distinguishes Z^1 from Z^2 and Z^3. This task is far from being straightforward, for Z^n is not a semiotic unit but a semiotic relation itself. The contrast between Z^1 and Z^2 is not as simple as the contrast between, for instance, the words *writing* and *typing*. In other words, from a paradigmatic perspective, intersemiosis is the relation of relations. To determine Z^n, therefore, we need to find some referential system, typically the language system in which T^n is located. But in using this linguistic system as reference point for determining Z^n, we are basically locating an image in the system of language. This creates a tension between our instinct that the relation between linguistic and visual meaning is *synergistic* (Lemke 1998, Unsworth and Cléirigh 2009), and the need to draw on the fixed linguistic system as our reference point in modelling (cf. Halliday and Matthiessen 1999, Matthiessen 2007). To reconcile the two is one considerable challenge for the theorization of SF-MDA.

If we now take a step back, withholding our assumptions about the nature of intersemiosis, we can observe that all semiotic elements in Figure 8.1b relate to each other through their position in the logogenetic unfolding of a text. That

is to say, T^n or I^n acquires value in opposition to what precedes it, to what follows it or both. In this sense, the relations between texts and images (Z^n), the relations between texts (X^n) or the relations between images (Y^n) should be the same types of relation, since they are defined by the same values, i.e. by their position in the structure of the text. To a certain extent, this is comparable to a traditional syntagmatic approach to language.

However, there are a few theoretical difficulties that cannot be solved by a traditional theory of syntagm. First, traditional structure theory in SFL accounts primarily for linear ordering. In a hypertext, however, the sequence of semiotic elements is fluid. For example, I^2 could potentially come before T^1, and this change of ordering may or may not impact on Z^1 (the intersemiotic relation between T^1 and I^1). Furthermore, the SFL account of structure is essentially constituency-bound. SFL theory recognizes three types of structures (cf. Martin 1996, 2002a, *this volume*) realizing three types of meanings, known as metafunctions.

- Ideational Meaning (construing human experience): *particulate*
- Interpersonal Meaning (enacting interpersonal relations): *prosodic*
- Textual Meaning (organizing information): *periodic*

The three metafunctional structures typically map onto each other in a basic SFL constituent such as a clause, as demonstrated in Figure 8.2. To put it in another way, the mapping of metafunctional structures is usually the evidence for a structural unit.[3]

In the multimodal environment, however, there has not yet been any clear indication if and how structural mapping across various modalities occurs. As a result, it becomes increasingly difficult to determine the boundary between the constituents, which in turn creates great difficulty for systematizing multimodal relations (see Zappavigna et al. *this volume*).

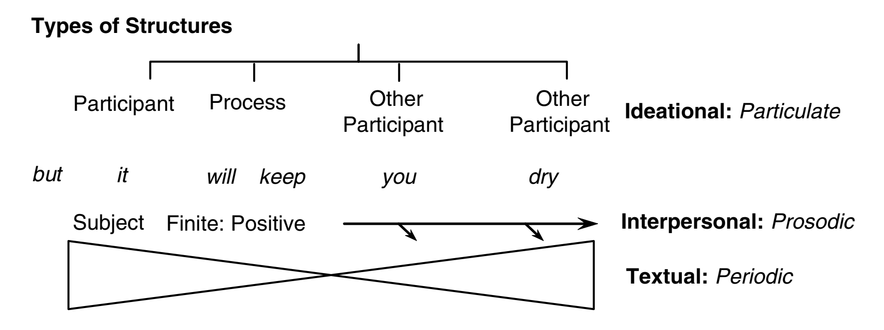


Figure 8.2 The mapping of metafunctional structures in a clause

One possible solution I propose is to view intersemiosis as *relations formed between semiotic elements in the logogenetic unfolding of the text,* rather than *as a set of systemic relations.* In this way, intersemiotic relations can be modelled as logogenetic patterns. The key to the logogenetic model lies in the restoration of the time dimension. In the following section, I will address the theoretical implications of bringing in the time dimension to the description of hypertext.

3 Restoring Time in Semiotic Description

3.1 The time dimension

From a process perspective, all social phenomena (e.g. meaning making) are essentially ongoing processes. To observe and model a phenomenon, we need to decide on a timeframe in which relations, events, causalities, etc can be measured. Assigning a particular timeframe is largely determined by the phenomenon we study and the purpose of the research. At the same time, the timeframe we choose will impact on our model of the phenomenon. For instance, the causality of a historical event and its relation to other events will be very different if we choose two different timelines, e.g. 50 years versus 500 years (e.g. Huang 1988).

Unlike in history where the timeframe of observation is typically conflated with the physical timeline in which the events took place, the concept of time in semiotics is highly abstract and requires further theorization. At this stage, it seems to me that to include time as a dimension in the modelling of human semiosis entails at least two interrelated aspects: (1) the defining of time-based semiotic units; and (2) the generalization of time-based semiotic relations.

3.2 Text as a logogenetic unit

In discourse analysis, we have to deal with text in both a space-based medium (written discourse) and a time-based medium (spoken discourse). Our constituency-based view on language nevertheless is largely based on our description of written text. A text is defined as a semantic constituent, where generic stages or rhetorical units are parts of the whole. In this view, a conversation, like a written text, is also conceived as constituent structure, *consisting of* smaller exchanges and moves (Eggins and Slade 2005). The limitations of this constituency-based model, especially in analysing conversations and 'larger texts' have been explored in several studies (e.g. Ventola 1987, Martin 1996, 2000a, Jordens, 2002).

In changing to a time-based perspective, however, a written text is analogous to a dialogue, in which an exchange of information takes place and spans a certain period of time. Of course, the real unfolding time of a written text cannot be measured. However, from a theoretical point of view, a written

text and a conversation could be seen as processes of meaning exchange that occur in comparable timeframes. The **logogenetic unit** is the most basic time-based unit. It can be defined as a complete process of meaning exchange, typically signalled by either spatial (e.g. end of the page) or temporal (e.g. end of a news programme) boundary. The span of a logogenetic unit may vary from genre to genre, e.g. hourly rolling news versus a news programme. The key principle is to generalize patterns from units of the same timeframe. In hypertext description, for instance, a website (the meaning-making process completed by the designer) and a traversal through it (the meaning making process completed by the user) can be seen as units with two different timeframes. From a logogenetic perspective, therefore, we can compare either two traversals through the same website or one website with another. The ultimate challenge in fact will be to provide a dynamic model for understanding the relationship between a traversal and the website, i.e. units of different time scales.

3.3 Logogenetic pattern: the time-based semiotic pattern

To include time as a modelling dimension also requires reconfiguring linguistic relations based on time. In SFL, there are two basic types of relations: (1) the paradigmatic order expresses *or* and *and* relations. For example, the initial consonant in _-a-t, can be filled by 'c' (*cat*), or 'b' (*bat*), or 'r' (*rat*), etc; (2) the syntagmatic order (conventionally signalled by the use of ^) encodes inserting and ordering principles. e.g. 'c' can come before 'a' (*c^a^t)* and after 'a' (*a^c^t)* but not after 't'. The two types of ordering can be reinterpreted respectively as space-based and time-based patterns. The paradigmatic relation essentially describes the potential elements that can occupy the same *space* in a unit, whereas the syntagmatic ordering concerns the potential point in *time* a semiotic element may occur. In this sense, the concept of syntagm could potentially be transferred to a time-based model. However, traditional SFL descriptions of syntagmatic relations are tied to the constituency theory of rank. Rank 'defines a point of origin for structures and systems', in Halliday's words:

> . . . assigning an item to a given rank is the first step in stating the systemic and structural relations into which it may enter and those which it may embody within itself. On the structure axis, rank is a form of generalization about bracketing, and makes it easier to avoid the imposition of unnecessary structures . . . (Halliday 2002 [1966]: 120)

System (paradigm) rather than structure (syntagm) is the defining characteristic of SFL theory, whereas structure is essentially the 'outward form taken by systemic choices' (Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 23). Since paradigmatic systems remove the time dimension of linguistic relations, it is very difficult to recover this dimension in syntagmatic realisations (see also Bateman 2008a on the constraints of the paradigmatic perspective in text generation).

Now, if we define semiotic relations from a time-based perspective, i.e. free of constituency constraints, we will be able to keep the 'ordering' aspect of the syntagmatic relation and perceive time-based patterns as relations that deal with what comes *before*, *with* and *after* in the **process** of meaning making. In other words, a time pattern is contingent on the time-based definition of the semiotic unit (e.g. logogenetic unit) and it defines the relation between semiotic elements based on their relations to each other in time within a certain timeframe (e.g. logogenetic).

Within the logogenetic timeframe, I propose that there are *at least* three types of time-based relations critical to the meaning making process. I shall name them **logogenetic patterns**. The most basic of these patterns is **sequencing**, which defines the value of an element in relation to its position in the text, i.e. what comes 'before'. It is compatible with the conventional notion of syntagmatic ordering. A second type, **coupling** deals with what comes 'with'. It is the linking of at least two types of relations at one point in the logogenetic unfolding, e.g. ideational coupled with interpersonal (Knight *this volume*), gesture with phonology (Zappavigna et al. *this volume*), verbiage with image (see section 4.2). The third type of pattern describes the ways in which a newly formed pattern expands, redefines or challenges the meaning of preceding patterns. I shall name this **non-linear coupling** for the time being, for it concerns the *clustering* and *reconfiguration* of linear coupling. Clustering captures the phenomenon anecdotally described as 'snowballing', for example, the accumulation of interpersonal prosody (cf. Martin and White 2005). A good example for illustrating reconfiguration would be the classical crime novel (e.g. Agatha Christie), a genre in which the revelation of the real murderer at the end of the text will typically re-configure the activity sequences of and taxonomical relations (Martin 1992) between participants.

3.4 The logogenetic model of intersemiosis: some complications

So far, I have presented rationales for recovering the time dimension in hypertext description, and discussed its theoretical consequences. In short, what I am proposing here is a logogenetic model for analysing intersemiosis in hypermedia texts, which involves the re-conceptualization of the semiotic unit and semiotic relations based on the time dimension. The development of this model is nevertheless in its infancy. In fact, there are a series of theoretical difficulties in building and testing such a model.

One such difficulty involves generalizing logogenetic patterns through manual analysis – the prevailing approach in SF-MDA (see Bateman 2008b, O'Halloran 2008 for a corpus approach to MDA, and Bednarek *this volume* for corpus linguistics and SFL in general). Of the three logogenetic patterns mentioned in the previous section, manual analysis can only handle coupling patterns adequately, and my analyses in Section 4 below thus focus on these kinds of logogenetic patterns. There may also be the possibility of modelling

clustering patterns (non-linear coupling) if the focus is only on one particular functional variable, e.g. participant chains (Zhao 2008). However, it is far from clear what type of technique and what amount of data are required to describe sequencing patterns (Zappavigna et al. *forthcoming*), especially in the hypermedia environment. Until we can deal with sequencing in logogenesis, a process model for multimodal text will always remain a conceptual one.

Other potential challenges include generalizing patterns across different logogenetic units (i.e. if texts of different time scales share the same patterns), developing a methodology for testing the model, etc. Despite these foreseeable difficulties, Section 4 demonstrates the potential of a time-based model in describing intersemiotic relations in hypertext using online children's educational e-texts as data and focussing on intersemiotic **coupling** patterns.

4 Intersemiotic Relations as Logogenetic Patterns: Applications in Hypertext Description

4.1 The data

The hypertexts I work with are *Educational Interactives* (EIs) sourced from the *Learn and Play* section on the National Museum of Australia website. The materials are originally designed for primary (K-6) social science subjects in the Australian context. I use the original label *Educational Interactives* (EI) for these data to avoid unnecessary theoretical predispositions, given that there has been an eclectic range of literature on hypertext and multimedia learning software (for an extensive review on hypermedia theory see Djonov 2005; for an overview on multimedia learning materials see Mayer 2005).

To give a general idea of this resource, an EI (see Figure 8.3) shares the characteristics of both a website and an educational game. On the one hand, it is a 'closed' website, which only offers web-internal navigation (Djonov 2005). The directionality of the navigation path is relatively linear and predictable. Simply put, the numbers of potential traversals are limited. On the other hand, it is an educational game (Rieber 2005), for the navigation involves an expressed goal, e.g. to provide the correct answer for a quiz or to complete a certain task. And success in navigation usually requires the mastering of subject matter (e.g. history, math) in some way.

4.2 Traversal (critical path) as a logogenetic unit

The first task in applying a time-based, logogenetic model is to determine the **logogenetic unit** on which the descriptions will be built. In this study, I have selected the completing of a **critical path** (Kolman and Beck, 1995: 285) as the basic analytical unit. In a game, a critical path is essentially the route to accomplish the goal of a game that covers all and only the necessary tasks. From

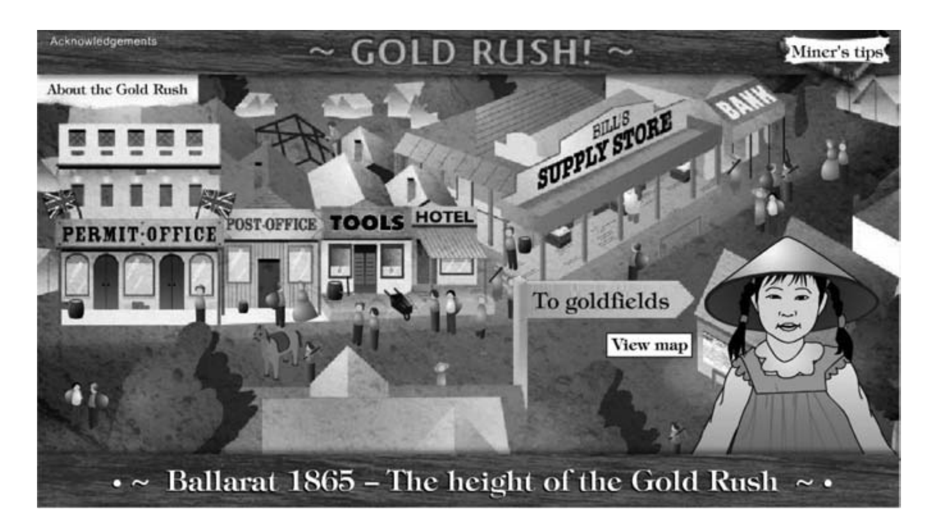


FIGURE 8.3 Gold Rush![a]

Source: *Gold Rush!* Curriculum Cooperation, 2003. The Le@rning Federation leaning object L702

[a] The examples presented here are static screen captures of the EI; therefore, they will not be able to represent faithfully the multimedia nature of the data. For the EIs in their original format, visit http://www.nma.gov.au/kidz/learn_and_play/.

the perspective of a hypertext, a critical path is the **traversal** through the EI that involves the least amount of recursion on the same navigation path.

In Gold Rush! (Figure 8.3), for example, the mission is to use limited financial resources to select and buy food, shelter and other requirements related to gold mining to complete a successful dig in 1865 in Australia. The game starts at a fictitious *street* of Ballarat (see Figure 8.3), where the player decides on the sequences of the required tasks. The player then clicks on an anchor (e.g. the shop with the sign *Tools*) that is linked to a micro-site (e.g. the tool shop in Figure 8.7) where each task (e.g. purchasing mining tools) is carried out. The critical path (see Figure 8.4a) thus covers five basic tasks of the game arranged in the most efficient sequencing: (1) buy a permit in *the permit office*, (2) choose the type of mine to dig in *view map*, (3) purchase suitable tools in *the tool shop*, (4) obtain sufficient amount of food and utilities in the *supply store*, and (5) go digging in the *goldfields*. In other words, the critical path is the traversal through each micro-site of the game site without revisiting the same one twice (see Figure 8.4b for a contrast with the longest possible traversal through the EI).

The choice of critical path as the basic analytic unit was made based on both theoretical considerations (e.g. the level of complexity manual analysis can achieve) and practical needs (e.g. the educational orientation of the project). In short, the choice enabled me to generalize coupling patterns both within the same and across various critical paths in different games. The following section will illustrate some examples of these coupling patterns.

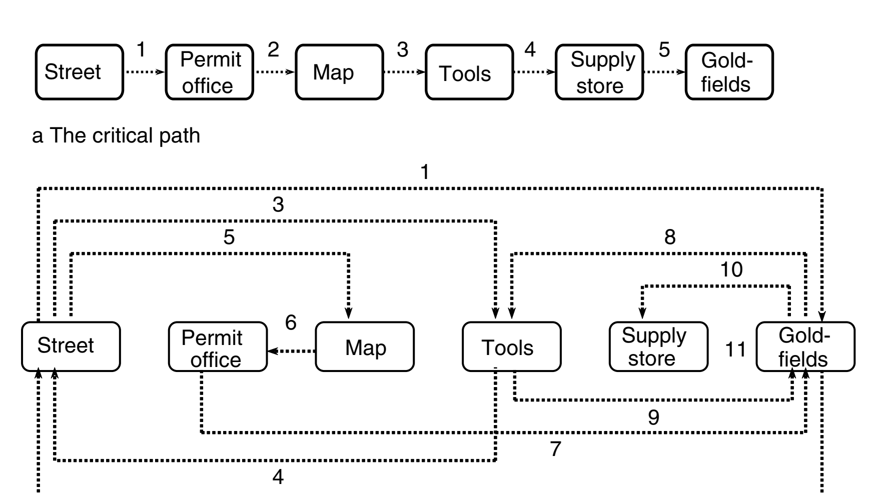


Figure 8.4 The comparison between a critical pathway and the longest possible traversal

4.3 Ideational inflation: examples of intersemiotic coupling

I use the term *coupling* to refer to the forming of a **temporally** shared meaning space between two semiotic elements during the logogenetic unfolding of a multimodal text (but see Martin 2000b, Caple 2008 for differing conceptions of coupling). When two semiotic elements form a shared ideational space, the coupling pattern is termed **ideational inflation**. To use the term *inflation* for intersemiotic coupling is to encapsulate the complementary and synergetic nature of various modalities in meaning making. That is to say, the meaning construed in language, image or other modalities is essentially incommensurable. When they form an intersemiotic coupling, their ideational domains (Halliday and Matthiessen 1999: 320–3) map onto each other in various degrees but will not completely overlap (see Figure 8.5).

The basic inflation patterns that emerged from my data include (from maximal to minimal mapping): **naming** and **identifying**, **representing** (**metonymizing, symbolizing** and **metaphoring**), **classifying** and **co-classifying**, and **circumstantiating**. On the maximal end of the mapping, different modalities represent a concept at two different orders of *abstraction* (e.g. naming and identifying, representing). Towards the minimal end of the spectrum, various modalities construe the same experience in different degrees of *specification* (e.g. circumstantiating). Somewhere in between, they relate to each other ideationally in terms of *generalization* (e.g. classifying and co-classifying).

From a logogenetic perspective, coupling patterns demonstrate different levels of 'stability' in the unfolding of a text. Stability here refers to the probability

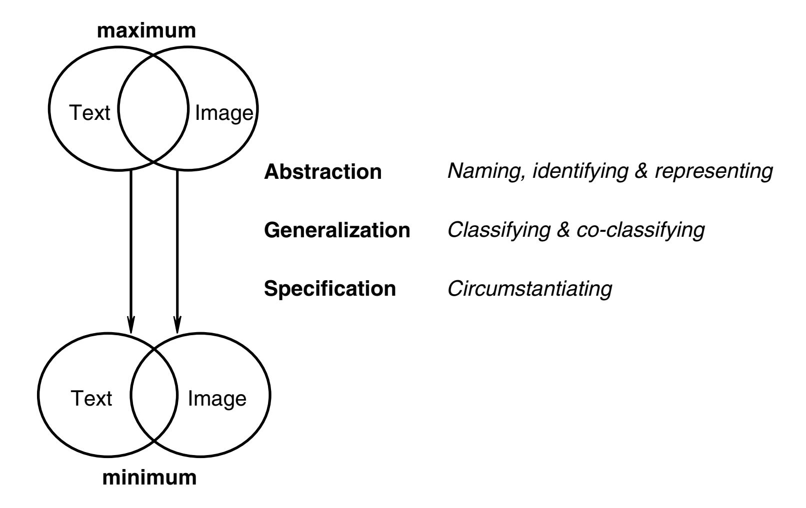


Figure 8.5 Mapping of ideational domain across modalities

of a coupling pattern to form a *clustering* with or to be *reconfigured* by succeeding patterns through non-linear coupling. In my data, the stability of the coupling usually coincides with the degree of ideational mapping. Stable patterns (e.g. naming, representing) tend to form in earlier stages of the text and are more likely to enter clustering during the logogenetic unfolding. The less stable patterns (e.g. circumstantiating), in contrast, normally will not enter clustering and have less potential to be reconfigured by subsequent patterns.

Naming and identifying

Naming refers to the assigning of a proper name to a visually represented participant. The little girl in Figure 8.3, for instance, is identified as Ling at the beginning of the game. **Identifying** is the verbal identification of a part of an object or a place in a map, e.g. Brisbane in the map of Queensland outback in Figure 8.6.

In this pair of coupling, language and image construe the same phenomenon at two different levels of abstraction. The relation between the two semiotic elements can be seen as comparable to the grammatical relation of token and value (cf. Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 230). That is to say, the image and the text can be used to identify each other. In Figure 8.3, for instance, when the little girl says '*Hi, I am Ling*', she is assigning a 'value' (the name Ling, realized by language) to a 'token' (the little girl, realized by image). Similarly, in labelling a part of the map as Brisbane in Figure 8.6, a 'value' (Brisbane) is assigned to a particular spot on the map (the 'token'). In a sense, identifying is a special type of naming, in which a name (e.g. Brisbane) is given to a part (e.g. the site representing Brisbane in the map) based on its relation to other parts (e.g. the site representing Lonely Creek) or/and to the whole (e.g. the region representing Queensland outback).

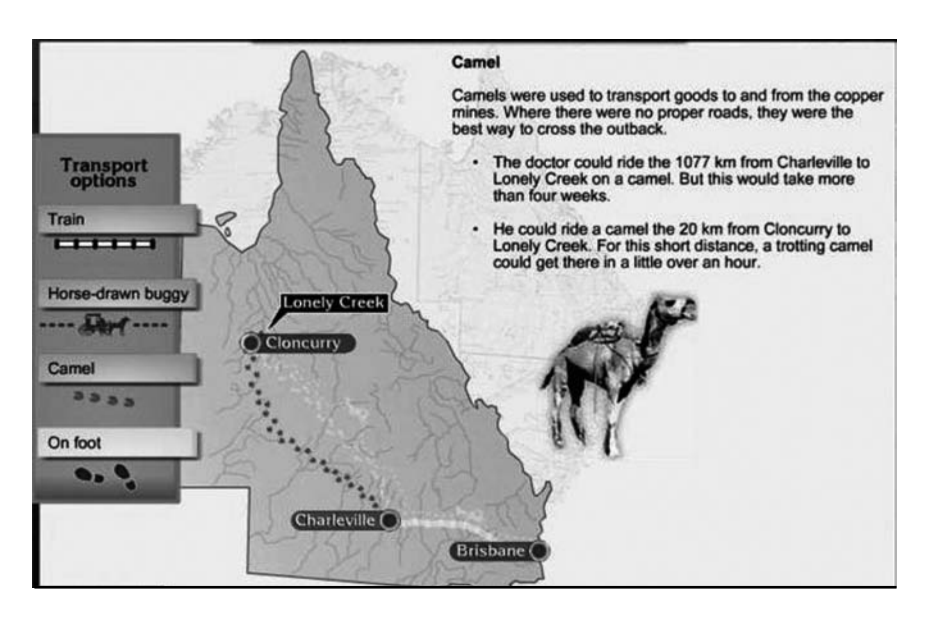


Figure 8.6 Medical Emergency at Lonely Creek: Camel

Source: Medical Emergency at Lonely Creek ! Curriculum Cooperation, 2005. The Le@rning Federation leaning object L676

Aborigines returning to Hermmansburg Lutheran Mission on camel National Achieve of Australia Image ID: A 1200, L17480

Representing: metonymizing, symbolizing and metaphoring

In **representing** patterns the visual element typically 'stands for' the meaning construed in language. There are three basic semantic relations formed through representing: **metonymizing**, **symbolizing** and **metaphoring**. Metonymizing refers to the forming of a semantic relation similar to that of 'metonymy' (i.e. a part is used to stand for the whole, or other contiguity relations exist between items) between various semiotic elements. For example, the drawing of the tracks of camel hooves on the left-hand side of Figure 8.5 stands for the concept of 'camel' realized by the language above it.

In a symbolizing pattern, one semiotic unit 'symbolizes' the concept construed in the other. The images of various flags (e.g. the British flag in Figure 8.3) and cricketing objects, for instance, are the most commonly used bondicons for Australian (British colonial) culture and history in my data. A semiotic element that symbolizes typically has the status of a bonding icon or bondicon (Stenglin 2004) – 'emblems or powerfully evocative symbols of social belonging' (Stenglin 2004: 406, see also Martin 2008, Knight *this volume*). From a phylogenetic point of view, the original ideational meanings of such items have been gradually 'evacuated'.

In a metaphoring relation, language and image construe the same phenomenon as two different experiential domains, with the image serving as a 'metaphor' for

the verbal text. In Figure 8.6, for example, the process of the doctor travelling from Charleville to Lonely Creek is realized by a transitivity structure in language (see Halliday and Matthiessen 2004 for an account of transitivity in English):

The doctor	*could ride*	*the 1007 km from Charleville to Lonely Creek*	*on a camel*
Participant	Process: Material	Range: Scope	Range: Scope

In contrast, in the image the Process (*could ride*) and the Range (*on a camel*) are rendered as the gradual spreading of the camel hooves, while the Range (*the 1007 km from Charleville to Conurry*) is represented topologically as two spots in the map (note that the camel hooves are actually animated). In a sense, the (moving) image construes the same phenomenon at a lower level of abstraction.

Classifying and co-classifying

Classifying and **co-classifying** are essentially the forming of taxonomic relations between two semiotic units. In the classifying type, one verbal label typically corresponds to one visual element. Language sub-classifies the image (either the participant or the process represented in the image) as a member of a class, where the image does not suggest the criteria of the classification. In the co-classifying relation, in contrast, one verbal label is typically assigned to **a set** of visual elements. The visual composition of these elements (e.g. placement, salience) usually highlights the underlying criteria.

For instance, in Figure 8.7 the relation formed between the visually represented object and its label *cradle* is a classifying one, for the verbal classifies the image as a member of the *cradle* family. However, it is not clear what constitutes the basic visual criteria for the class 'cradle', since the image is only one instance of this class. In the same Figure 8.7, Ling instructs the player, *You will need some* ***mining tools*** *before you start digging.* Here *mining tools* and the related visual elements form a co-classifying relation. On the one hand, the verbiage classifies the visual objects as belonging to the class of 'mining tools'. On the other hand, the compositional and representational structures of the image (Kress and van Leeuwen 2006) indicate that only objects highlighted in colour (in contrast to the black-and-white bottles and the till) and located in the tool shop belong to this class (in contrast to objects located in the supply shop).

Circumstantiating

Circumstantiating accounts for the forming of 'free' relations between various semiotic modes. In this pattern, semiotic elements of different modalities co-construe a *field* by providing topological (i.e. gradable variation) or typological (i.e. discrete category) information (on these two types of meaning-making see Lemke 1999). In Figure 8.8, for instance, the image presents the



FIGURE 8.7 Gold Rush!: Tools

Audio Ling: *You will need some* ***mining tools*** *before you start digging.*
Source: *Gold Rush!* Curriculum Cooperation, 2003. The Le@rning Federation leaning object L702
At the Refreshment Rooms at the Tea Garden. Theo Polites, 1919 State Library of Victoria. Image ID: H92.250/390, b33770

What is the Traeger two-way radio?

This famous Australian invention allowed people living in the outback to contact the outside world.

- The messages were sent using Morse code (a system of signals).
- When the first radios were distributed, mainly women learned how to operate them, since they were more likely to be working inside near the radio.
- The first radios were powered by pedals. Later versions used battery power.



FIGURE 8.8 Medical Emergency at Lonely Creek: Traeger two-way radio

Source: *Medical Emergency at Lonely Creek!* Curriculum Cooperation, 2005. The Le@rning Federation leaning object L676
Mr Traeger transmitting by a pedal-powered wireless National Library of Australia. Image ID: nla.pic-an24631139

components of a Traeger two-way radio and the topological details of these components, e.g. their relative sizes, their spatial arrangement, while the verbiage details the historical usage and development the radio. To put it another way, language and image construe two interrelated sub-fields of the Traeger two-way radio: composition (image) and history (verbiage).

5 Outlook

In this chapter, I have outlined a process- and time-oriented logogenetic model for analysing multimodal relations in hypermedia text. The key to the approach is the restoration of time as a modelling dimension, and the emphasis on logogenetic patterns. In a time-based model, a traversal in a hypertext can be treated as a logogenetic unit, in which a process of meaning making is completed. Intersemiotic relations are accordingly treated as logogenetic patterns – the forming of various time-based semiotic relations. What I have proposed here is a complementary perspective to intersemiosis. Intersemiosis is at the same time the process of *relating* one semiotic element to another and a set of *relations* between various meaning making resources.

At this point the explorative nature of my approach should be acknowledged. The total accountability of the model and its applicability in other genres requires further testing. The relations between the units of various timeframes are yet to be explored. It must also be emphasized that a time-based perspective is not alternative but *complementary* to a space-based one. There are theoretical compromises involved in both perspectives. The time-based model for instance is still unable to fully incorporate variants across strata or metafunctions. To capture the complexity of the emerging hypermedia discourse requires the development of a new model that can incorporate the multiple dimensionality of a space-based perspective and the dynamics of a time-based perspective. Such a model should offer unified guiding principles at each of the stages of text description – *annotation, transcription, analysis* and *visualization* (Zappavigna *forthcoming*).

The biggest challenge in developing this new model is indeed an old one – the issue of dynamic modelling (e.g. Berry 1981, Martin 1985, Ventola 1987, O'Donnell 1990, Matthiessen 1993, Ravelli 1995, Zeng 1996). To accomplish this task requires us to look back at SFL theory, challenging our readily assumed notions of semogenesis. We need to ask some basic questions, such as *What constitutes a semiotic process?* At the same time, we may need to look beyond SFL theory, searching for a metalanguage informed by emerging computational modelling techniques (e.g. Bateman 2008b, O'Halloran 2008, Zappavigna et al. *forthcoming*), a metalanguage that can truly capture semiotic dynamism.

Notes

[1] This research was part of an Australian Research Council (ARC) Discovery Project (2005–2008) called *Image/Text Relations in Narrative and Information Texts for Children in Print and Electronic Media.* For other major publications of the project see Martin (2008), Painter (2008, *forthcoming*), Unsworth and Cléirigh (*forthcoming*).

[2] The use of MDA terminologies in this chapter, e.g. modalities, semiotic systems, follows Matthiessen (2007a).

[3] In theory, it has been suggested that each metafunction would allow for a different bounding of the structural unit (Halliday 2009). However, the analytical application of this hypothesis is unclear at this stage, especially concerning higher strata (e.g. discourse-semantics).

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Chapter 9

The Coupling of Gesture and Phonology

Michele Zappavigna, Chris Cléirigh, Paul Dwyer and J. R. Martin

1 Introduction

Analysis of gesture is a new region in Systemic Functional Linguistic (SFL) inquiry, although it is relatively established in other disciplines such as anthropology and cognitive science (Efron 1941, Morris et al. 1979, McNeill 1992, Goldin-Meadow 2003, Kendon 2004). Early SFL-oriented work includes exploration of gesture realizing process type and interpersonal meaning – i.e. meaning related to the negotiation of social relations (Martinec 2000a, 2001), discourse semantics and gesture (Hood 2007), and a case study on non-verbal communication by a child with an intellectual disability (Dreyfus 2006). These perspectives arise out of Halliday's (1985) initial framing of gesture as paralinguistic, functioning to support the meaning made in talk. Gestures are, in Halliday's model, 'not part of the grammar, but rather additional variations by which the speaker signals the import of what he [sic] is saying' (Halliday 1985: 30). As a mode of expression, gesture has a prosodic structure which we might think of as akin to an intonation contour because it cannot be systematically divided into constituent units, unlike, for example, grammatical structures (Halliday 1985).

Kendon (2004: 125) asserts that gesture is 'fully-integrated' into the expression of meaning as an 'ensemble'. The kind of resource-based view of gesture that he proposes accords with the theoretical stance of SFL:

> It appears that there is flexibility in the gesture-speech relationship and this, it will be suggested, is best understood in terms of a point of view that sees gesture and speech as two different kinds of *expressive resource* available to speakers, and that the gestures employed within an utterance, like the words that are employed, are components of a speaker's *final product* . . . Gesture is a *partner* with speech in the utterance as finally constructed. (Kendon 2004: 111; italics in original)

One way in which SFL takes up the idea of partnership is the concept of *coupling*, that is, co-selection of functional features in a text (Martin 2008; Zappavigna et al. 2008, Martin *this volume*). Patterns of couplings form syndromes, where a syndrome is defined as the recurrent co-selection of features in a text or corpus contributing to a particular rhetorical strategy (Zappavigna et al. 2008). For example,

within a particular text, [tone 4] may occur with a [declarative] realizing [reservation].[1] This particular coupling may, in turn, be involved in more complex logogenetic patterning. The weight of a syndrome, that is, how tightly features are coupled, depends on how frequently particular features co-occur. This co-occurrence is both predicted by and influences the system of language.

However, as we began our analyses we were faced with the problem that we currently do not have a pre-existing analytical unit for investigating gesture. In addition, since we cannot systematically relate gesture to lexicogrammar, determining how gestures are motivated by meaning is more difficult than determining, for example, how discourse semantic meanings are realized in phonology. Because of these difficulties we proposed using the tone group as coterminous with a gestural unit. This is because both intonation and gesture involve bodily movements, and postulating a relationship between the two, as expression systems, offers a means to relate gesture to the information unit as a unit of content. This method is broadly consistent with Kendon's (2004) approach of exploring how gesture and intonation work in partnership. In addition, we are able to apply the concept of coupling, thus far only theorized monomodally, to look at the relationship between gesture and phonology.

It should be noted that the correspondences of gesture and talk that are made in this chapter presuppose fuzzy boundaries. It would make no sense to proceed by identifying a lexical item in the verbiage and look only at the corresponding gesture in the exact frame in the time series. In other words, we are looking for the meanings in the spoken text (within each information unit realized by a tone group) that motivate the gestures. The coupling is approximate since gestures require preparatory movements and the articulators for gesture (arms, hands etc.), being larger, are slower than those for speech (tongue, lips etc.). Kendon notes:

> . . . the preparation of the gesture phrase begins in advance of the parts of the spoken expressions to which it is to be linked semantically. This means that, when using gesture, the speaker must already have organized it at the same time as the plan for the spoken phrase with which is it is to co-occur is organized. Gesture and speech thus, are planned for together and gestural expression is a fully integrated component of the utterance's construction. (Kendon 2004: 125)

Since we adopt a systemic functional analytical approach, we operate by considering how the meanings construed by the coupling of gesture and speech function in the particular context of situation in which they are deployed.

2 A Brief Introduction to Phonology

Our phonological analyses are based upon Halliday's (1970) systemic functional phonology which was influenced by Firth's (1948) work on non-segmental

prosody and work in Chinese phonology (Wang 1936). This approach to phonology takes the foot as the fundamental rhythmic unit of spoken English (for a related discussion of rhythm see Caldwell *this volume).* A foot consists of a beat, or Ictus, which can be realized by a salient syllable or be silent, optionally followed by one or more weak syllables. Foot boundaries are annotated with / and silent beats with ^, as in the following:

//That's / all / ^ / that's / what I'd / like to / ***know***//

The unit of intonation is the tone group, which consists of one or more feet. The example above from our data corresponds to a single tone group; tone boundaries are annotated with //. A tone group realizes 'one unit of information, one 'block' in the message that the speaker is communicating; and so it can be of any length', corresponding to the clause in the unmarked case (Halliday 1970: 3).

Within the tone group, the part given most emphasis by the speaker and falling on a salient syllable is referred to as the tonic syllable (shown in bold type above), and the foot in which it occurs is the tonic foot. The tonic carries the main (defining) pitch movement in the tone group either by covering the widest pitch range or by immediately following a jump in pitch. Within a tone group, the part extending from the tonic to the end of the tone group is called the tonic segment and the rest is referred to as the pretonic segment. Table 9.1 shows how we have chosen to lay out our analyses so that the structures we have introduced in this section can be systematically related to gesture.

The system of pitch movement choices is known as tone. There are five simple tones:

[tone 1]: fall
[tone 2]: rise
[tone 3]: level (or low rise)
[tone 4]: fall-rise
[tone 5]: rise-fall

There are also two compound tones, which are sequences of two tones: [tone 13] and [tone 53]. What makes these compounds is that the second tone cannot be preceded by its own pretonic segment, and so always directly follows the preceding tonic.

Table 9.1 An example of rhythm and intonation analysis

1						
Pretonic Segment						Tonic Segment
That's	all	Δ	that's	what I'd	like to	**know**

Key is the name given to systems that are realized by tone (Halliday and Matthiessen 2004). It construes meanings about the speaker's attitude to the negotiation (for example, 'politeness, assertiveness, indifference' (Halliday 1970: 22). Couplings of particular tones and particular grammatical features construe specific interpersonal meanings. For example, [tone 4] (fall rise) together with a [declarative] realizes the key feature [reservation].

3 Data: The Affray Youth Justice Conference

We analyse gesture within a particular context of situation: Youth Justice Conferencing (YJC). Conferencing, a form of restorative justice, affords a young person who has committed an offence the opportunity to talk about the offence in the presence of the victim and support people, who are also encouraged to discuss their experiences. In New South Wales, Australia, YJC acts as an alternative to the Children's Court for sentencing a young person who has committed a criminal offence that meets certain requirements in terms of severity. The conferences are usually held with participants seated in a circle configuration and in meeting rooms in public buildings such as Police Citizen Youth Clubs or Council chambers. Participants are encouraged by the Convenor, who runs the conference, to share their feelings and experiences relating to the offence. These participants can include the victim of the offence, support people for both the young person and the victim, police officers such as Youth Liaison Officers and Ethnic Community Liaison Officers, and members of the local community.

While there may be a perception that YJCs are events in which emotions are dramatically played out, carrying with them large and animated gestures, the conferences that we have observed and recorded do not tend to support this assumption. Gesturing in these conferences was typically relatively constrained, particularly when produced by the young person who tended to occupy minimal gestural space, perhaps in order to remain a small target for criticism.

The conference that is the subject of our analysis was convened as a result of an affray offence by a young male. Hereon, for brevity, it will be referred to as the Affray YJC. The Affray YJC was video recorded and the researchers also sat in the conference circle as silent observers. To minimize the visual presence of recording equipment in the hope of reducing their impact upon conference participants, video-recordings were made using a camera mounted on a microphone stand recording to DVD. The cameras were positioned in the corners of the room to further reduce their visual presence (Figure 9.1).

The Affray YJC was a slight variation on the typical circle formation of a conference as participants were seated around a rectangular table formed by three desks pushed together (Figure 9.2). Thus, some gesturing occurred underneath the table and was not visible to other participants or our cameras. This table was also involved in some of the participants' gestures: for example, as a surface upon which to beat hands to emphasize the salience of a point being made in the talk.

Figure 9.1 Configuration for recording a YJC



Figure 9.2 Seating configuration of the 'Affray YJC' (participants have been blurred to maintain anonymity)

This conference was one hour and a half in duration and was transcribed using Transcriber (Boudahmane, Manta, Antoine, Galliano, and Barras 2001, http://trans.sourceforge.net/). Text 1, the data analysed in this chapter, was a 95-second extract sampled from this conference by looking for an example of gestural prosody, that is, repetition of a particular gesture (pleading hands) across a phase of discourse also marked by a shift in field and tenor variables.[2] For example, there was a shift in terms of field (content) to talk about family from talk about the legal system, and also a shift in terms of tenor (negotiating relationships) to increased talk about affect (anger).

In exploring intermodal co-patterning we found that we required tools to assist with tracking and representing logogenesis, the unfolding of text. The video was annotated using ELAN (Max-Planck-Institute for Psycholinguistics 2008, www.mpi.nl/tools/). ELAN was chosen as an annotation tool as it allowed us to track multiple data series while concurrently tracking the time series of the video text. These data series took the form of different 'annotation tiers' (see for example the tier labelled 'tone group' near the bottom of Figure 9.3).

This practical endeavour of annotating the text generated a number of theoretical concerns relating to how to model co-articulation so that we account for both the sequencing of the text and relationships between different modes. A challenge is to determine what we can understand to be co-expressed when we are dealing with modes that have a constituent, or alternatively, a prosodic structure, where boundaries between units are fuzzy. This challenge has led us and others (Zhao *this volume*) to imagine what a metalanguage that can account for semiotic dynamism might be. The work herein is a step alongside Zhao toward theorizing the kinds of relationships involved in logogenetic coupling, that is, patterns of coupling unfolding in a text.



FIGURE 9.3 An example of tone group analysis performed in ELAN

We now turn to the text which will be analysed in detail in this chapter, Text 1, which is an interaction between the young person and a Ethnic Community Liaison Officer (ELO). This text was taken from the commissioned recount stage of the conference and is an example where an ELO intervenes in a recount that does not appear to be functioning optimally.

The commissioned recount is the stage of the conference where a convenor will ask a young person to give an account of the crime and then to reflect on the implications of their behaviour. The manual used in New South Wales as part of the convenors' training includes a scripted outline detailing the structure of a typical conference (Youth Justice Conferencing Directorate 2005). It indicates that the convenor should invite the young person to 'tell their story'. The young person, however, in the conferences that we have observed, will rarely produce a packaged recount of events. Both the details of the offence and related emotion talk are usually jointly constructed through prompting by the convenor.

Therefore, conceiving of the conference in terms of genre, that is, as staged activity that serves a particular social goal within a culture (Martin and Rose 2008, Martin *this volume*), we refer to the story that the young person tells as a commissioned recount rather than simply a recount. This functional label reflects the way the convenor, ELO (in the case of the Affray YJC) and young person (YP) jointly construe the talk that unfolds, and the observation that we have made over the course of observing a range of conferences involving different kinds of offences, that the young person tends not to offer forth an extended, spontaneous delivery. Conferencing is a macro-genre,[3] and the commissioned recount functions as a recontextualized element genre within this macro-genre; in other words, it is a smaller genre performing a function within the larger genre of conferencing while retaining its own particular staging and patterns of meaning. Commissioned recount typically occurs after the gathering and legal framing of the conference and before the responses by third parties to the young person's 'story'. The commissioned recount tends to have the following structure (^ conventionally signals 'followed by'):

Orientation ^ Record of events ^ (Re-orientation) ^ (Extension) ^ Interpretation ^ Ramifications

Elsewhere we have provided a more detailed analysis of the function of this genre (Martin et al. *forthcoming*). The orientation stage in the commissioned recount sets the recount in time and space and introduces the main participants involved in the conference. The record of events which follows presents the sequence of events leading up to and constituting the offence from the young person's perspective. The next stage, re-orientation is optional and wraps up the recount and returns participants from reconstructed past events to the spatio-temporal setting of the conference itself. The extension stage is also optional and functions to elicit a fuller account from the young person.

Within the interpretation stage the recount is evaluated, as emotions and social values in relation to the offence are explored. Finally, within the ramifications stage, some of the pertinent consequences of the offence are canvassed.

Text 1 is part of the interpretation stage of the commissioned recount. It comes after the Convenor has attempted to elicit, extend and finally begin to jointly evaluate the YP's recount. The transcript of Text 1 is reproduced below:

ELO: OK. Mate y- [frustrated noise]. Mate, you've gotta understand brother, what- what everyone's trying to do here is, mate, you might look at everybody and- and you know and everyone's saying, 'Say the truth' but if you were ang- let's just say from the police. OK. And, mate, police can defend themselves. Do you understand? I'm not going to speak for police. What I'm saying to ya is if you're doing the wrong thing and they're catching ya, why would you be angry with them? Why would- why would you not look at what you're doing to get yourself into this trouble? Why would you not look at how you're getting your mum into this crap, how you're getting your family into this crap? Why don't you look at why we're here today? Are we here because of me?
YP: No.
ELO: Are we- who are we here for?
YP: Because of me.
ELO: Not because of you as a person, because of something you're doing that's not right. We're not targeting you personally, brother. It's what you're doing that's no good. You're probably a good person. What you're doing is not good. You understand the difference?
YP: Yes.
ELO: We're not saying, 'YP, you're a this and you're a that'. What we're saying is your behaviour is getting you into trouble, man. You're hurting your family, brother. You're hurting your [Arabic], brother. You understand?
YP: Yes.
ELO: If I didn't care about ya, man, I didn't care about your mum, I didn't care about, you know, the Den and everything, I wouldn't even be here. I mean, I've finished my work. But if we- if everyone here today could help you just to sorta think to yourself, 'What am I doing to my family? What am I doing to myself?', man, Shalam, that's what it's all about. That's what today is all about. It's about you sitting down and having a look- Why don't you come- I think you should come and sit here and look at ya Mum. Come and sit here. I want- Sorry. I want you to sit there. I want you to sit over there [inaudible chatter about moving chairs].

4 Analysis: The Pleading Clasp Prosody

The gestural prosody that characterizes Text 1 involved a gesture of hands pressed together in what we term a 'pleading clasp'. It is similar to the hand formation used for praying in many cultures, although not typically in Islamic culture.[4] The contemporary association of prayer with supplication has its origins in the Latin, *precari*, meaning 'to ask earnestly, beg' (Harper 2001: 11). The pleading clasp gesture seemed to carry some of this meaning as it was often coupled with instances of [tone 3] that can realize 'pleading' when used with a vocative (Halliday 1967, 1970). The use of the vocative 'man' together with [tone 3] shows the ELO trying to subvert the tenor that the relatively formal situation imposes. This was a way of engaging more closely with the young person in the hope of being maximally persuasive.

The first instance that the ELO produces is roughly commensurate with praying hands, although his fingers are slightly splayed (LHS of Figure 9.4). The ELO also clasps his hands together interlocking his fingers (RHS of Figure 9.4).

The ELO most often pointed his finger tips away from his body when forming the pleading clasp, meaning that his hands were in a horizontal position (Figure 9.5). We take this pleading clasp as the 'rest' (Kendon 2004) or 'home position' (Sacks and Schegloff 2002) in Text 1.

Figure 9.6 shows the intervals in which the ELO uses pleading clasp gestures. The time series is shown at the bottom of the diagram in seconds. Black intervals represent pleading hand gestures and grey intervals represent all other types of gesture. As the pleading clasp prosody illustrated in this figure is the most consistent prosodic structure (since the grey regions represent a collection of different



FIGURE 9.4 ELO's pleading clasp and 'Praying Hands' (study for an Apostle figure of the 'Heller' altar by Albrecht Dürer, c.1508)

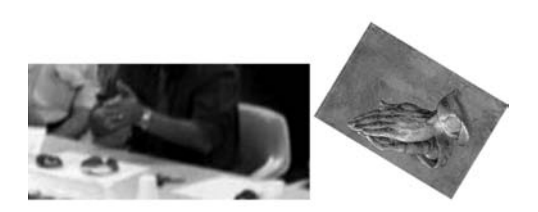


FIGURE 9.5 An example of the pleading hand clasp

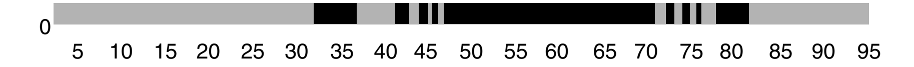


FIGURE 9.6 Stretches where ELO uses pleading clasp gestures

kinds of gesture), we take this gesture as the unmarked option and proceed, in the sections that follow, by considering the different choices that the ELO makes to deviate from this gesture.

5 Beating, Pitching and Articulating

In our extract, gestures operated to support the meanings made in the spoken discourse produced by the ELO. If we take phonology, another expression system, for which we have an existing rank scale and have developed methods of analysis, as a means to explore gesture, we may note three ways in which the two expression plane systems seem to couple:

- Pitching
- Beating
- Articulating

Gestural pitching, that is, movement up or movement down of the gesture, is like intonation and appears to realize key and information. We propose pitching as an analogue of the tone system in phonology (Halliday 1967, 1970). We are using 'pitching' to refer only to those gestures that move 'in tune' with the pitch contour of the concurrent tone group, for example when a gesture rises and falls (in space) as the intonation rises and falls (in pitch). Gestural beating is like rhythm and realizes salience. We propose 'beating' as the gestural analogue of rhythm in phonology (Halliday 1967, 1970), with its function of adding salience to the co-timed meanings. Gestural articulation is akin to phonological articulation and realizes a range of possibilities such as deixis and representation. The following sections explain each of these possibilities in turn.

6 Pitching the Intonation of Speech

The ELO's gesture would often move in the same direction as the pitch movement, realizing interpersonal key. The ELO's gesture at times, for example, mimicked the rise and fall tone contour of [tone 5] (Figure 9.7). [Tone 5] has the potential to realize meanings to do with exasperation and disappointment (Halliday 1985). The example in Figure 9.7 is a tone group from the clause complex, 'If I didn't care about, you know, the Den and everything, man, I wouldn't even be here'. By echoing the rise and fall of the pitch, the gesture

realizes the same meaning as the intonation (tone 5) in that grammatical context (exasperation, frustration etc.).

7 Beating the Rhythm of Speech

Within Text 1 there are many examples where gesture beats the rhythm and pitches the tone of the spoken language. Gestures can beat on tonic syllables, salient syllables, or all syllables. Increasing the frequency of a gesture intensifies the salience of the information.

The ELO devoted a relatively large amount of semiotic energy to emphasizing his message, attempting to hold the YP's attention in order to influence his behaviour. In so doing, he made use of different beating gestures where we he would repetitively beat parts of his body, either in the air, against his body, or on the tabletop, increasing the frequency of the beat at salient syllables in his talk. For example as the ELO calls attention to the function of the conference in his verbiage, saying 'That's what today is all about', he raises the frequency of the gesture shown in Figure 9.8. This gesture involved clasping the hands together

Tone type	Tone 5		
Tone group	*Pretonic Segment*	*Tonic Segment*	
Feet	wouldn't even	**be**	here
Gesture	right hand retracts, making a whip-like opening and upturning 'rise-fall' trajectory back to clasping with the left hand		

FIGURE 9.7 Gesture echoing pitch movement

Tone type	**Tone 1**				
Tone group	*Pretonic Segment*				*Tonic Segment*
Feet	That's is	what to	day is	all a	**bout**
Gesture	clasp beats towards chest on salients, with extra beat on 'a(bout)'				
Beats	◊	◊	◊	◊	◊ ◊

FIGURE 9.8 Increased salience realized as increased frequency of gestural beats

and beating toward the chest on salient syllables, with an additional beat afforded to the tonic segment which realizes the culmination of new information.

Increase in salience also had the function of increasing the intensity, or, graduation (Martin and White 2005) of evaluations that ELO made about the young person's behaviour. Again increased frequency of a beating gesture supported the increase in salience. By beating on (interpersonal) evaluative meanings, and thus giving them (textual) salience, the gestures also served to upscale those attitudes in terms of graduation. For example, the ELO says 'Your behaviour is getting you into trouble, man', while adopting an arched hand position with fingers fanned and beating his fingers on the table in front of him (Figure 9.9). The beats fall on 'get-' and every subsequent syllable in the tone group, highlighting the negative judgement.

Hood (2007) has also noted 'vibrating' gestures that function to upscale graduation in face-to-face teaching of advanced level classes in writing academic English. She distinguishes these from beating gestures, of the kind we have identified here.

8 Articulating with Speech

Three functions of articulating gestures used by the ELO could be identified: representation, deixis and contrast. We will explain each of these in turn in the subsections that follow.

Representation

Gesture can contribute to the realization of meaning iconically, representing, or 'miming', for example, a process (Martinec 2000a). These types of gesture

Tone type	Tone 1			
Tone group	*Pretonic Segment*	*Tonic Segment*		
Feet	Δ is	getting you into	**trouble**	man
	finger-fanned right hand arches right beating the desk on salient 'get-' and beats on every following syllable			
Gesture				
Beats		◊ ◊ ◊ ◊ ◊	◊ ◊	◊

Figure 9.9 Increased salience scaling-up evaluation

were not common in Text 1. One instance observed occurred when the ELO made reference to police, saying:

> And, mate, police can defend themselves. Do you understand? I'm not going to speak for police.

In this instance the ELO slaps one hand on another when he talks of police being able to 'defend' themselves, a gesture iconic to the action of fending off an attacker. Surprisingly, iconic gestures of this kind were relatively rare in our sample.

Deixis

Gesture was also used to realize deixis, identifying persons in the exchange (see also Kendon 2004 on deictic gestures). At points during the phase, one of the ELO's hands broke from the pleading clasp and was used to point to interlocutors. He says to the YP:

> But if everybody here could help you today to just sorta think to yourself, 'What am I doing to my family, what am I doing to myself?', man, Shalam, that's what it's all about.

The ELO identifies two types of participants: the people seated around the table and the YP. He makes a circular gesture to refer to everyone at the table and points at the YP to identify him (Figure 9.11). Thus his gestural expression varies with the meaning being distinguished: circular for plural first person 'we all', pointed for singular second person 'you'. The Deictic 'here' is also coupled with a downward pointing gesture.

Tone type	Tone 1			
Tone group	*Pretonic Segment*			*Tonic Segment*
Feet	Δ po	lice can de	fend them	**selves**
Gesture	left hand moves left on 'police', then claps right hand on 'defend' into clasp			

FIGURE 9.10 Gesture representing a process

Tone type	Tone 4						
Tone group	*Pretonic Segment*					*Tonic Segment*	
Feet	But if	we can	Δ if	everybody	here could	**help** you to	day
Gesture				right hand moves out and left and around table for 'everybody' (simultaneously mimicked by head swivel),	points down at table for 'here',	and to YP for 'you' (personal reference),	reclasping at tonic 'today'

FIGURE 9.11 Gesture realizing deixis

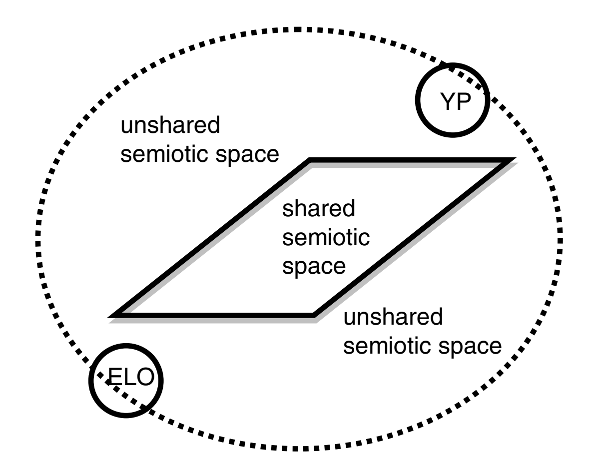


FIGURE 9.12 Gesture space as semiotic space

Contrast

Contrast was often realized through gesture in the ELO's discourse. In so doing he used his physical gestural space as an abstract semiotic space. He placed semiotic objects in specific positions in his gestural space to express certain meanings. For example, he used space interpersonally, creating a shared space between himself and the young person and another unshared space (Figure 9.12).

The ELO made use of this space to support contrasts made in his spoken discourse that contributed to an overall rhetoric of oppositions. The ELO

tended to place positively evaluated targets in the shared space between himself and the YP (Figure 9.12). This was part of a general correlation between gestures and the targets of evaluative polarity. The ELO tended to direct gestures coupled with negative evaluation towards the left, away from the YP. In turn, gestures towards the YP and to the right were coupled with positive evaluation. For example, the ELO says:

> Why would you not look at how you're getting your mum into this crap, how you're getting your family into this crap. Why don't you look at why we're here today? Are we here because of me?

In this example, positively judged items such as 'mother' (invoked as a token of positive evaluation in Islamic culture which construes the role of the mother as highly-valued) are associated with gestures on the right of the shared space between the ELO and YP, and items construing negative judgement such as 'crap' are associated with gestures on the left of this shared space (Figure 9.13).

As Figure 9.13 illustrates, beating gestures coupled with the positively evaluated (+ value) behaviour of 'looking at' (i.e. reflecting upon) one's behaviour occur on the left whereas 'crap' (the negative situation that the young person has drawn his mother into), is coupled with gestures on the right of the ELO's gesture space, construing a contrastive negative evaluation (- value).

Elsewhere we have discussed the 'alternating' evaluative prosody adopted by the ELO which has a 'to-and-fro' structure, moving back and forth between evaluative polarities (Zappavigna et al. *forthcoming*). Contributing to this

Tone type	**Tone 1**					
Tone group	*Pretonic Segment*					*Tonic Segment*
Feet	Why would you not	look at	how you're	getting your	mum into this	**crap**
Gesture	beating prayer clasp moves leftward for 'look' (+ value, contrast with failing to look)		then a little right for 'mum'(contrast: +value)			then back to the right for 'crap' (contrast:- value)
Beats	◊	◊	◊	◊	◊	◊

Figure 9.13 Gesture supporting evaluative contrast

tendency was alternation between positively and negatively judged targets. Judgement is part of the attitude system defined in appraisal theory as 'the region of meaning construing our attitudes to people and the way they behave – their character (how they measure up)' (Martin and White 2005: 52; on appraisal see also Tian *this volume*, Knox et al. *this volume*). For example, we identified logogenetic patterns such as the following (positive judgement marked in bold italic; negative judgement in small caps):

> It's what you're doing that's NO GOOD. You're probably a ***good person***. What you're doing is NOT GOOD. You understand the difference?

Our analysis suggests that the gestural prosody acts to support the construal of such evaluative contrast and to a rhetoric of oppositions more generally. A challenge for future work will be finding ways of visually representing the logogenetic unfolding of gesture in tandem with speech so that the kind of coupling suggested in this chapter can be elaborated with evidence from longer stretches of discourse and ultimately with evidence from multimodal corpora.

9 Conclusion

The analysed sample of video-taped discourse acts as a pilot for testing out the hypothesis that phonological structure can act as a useful starting point for analysing gesture. By considering the coupling of gesture and phonology we have proposed a methodology for handling the complexity of gesture, while focusing on how gesture contributes to meaning-making.

In our sample, gesture has proven to hold a somewhat capricious relationship to the meaning expressed in spoken discourse, roaming all over the semantic systems in the logogenesis of a text, one moment realizing deixis, another realizing key, as the semantic systems 'compete' for additional realization by gesture. It was found that gestures could indeed be chunked syntagmatically with tone groups, thus providing a domain in which paradigmatic systems of gestural features can be said to operate. Because the tone group realizes – and is coterminous with – the information unit, this also provided a content plane domain within which to consider the meanings being realized gesturally. We found three ways in which gestural and phonological features optionally coupled in this syntagmatic domain: pitching, beating and articulating. This is a modest, first step into systematizing gesture that we hope to follow with analyses of larger stretches of discourse.

Notes

[1] Square brackets are used to represent features in system networks.

[2] Matthiessen (1995: 36) suggests that context is 'functionally diversified', that is, combinations of field, tenor and mode define the way language is used. Briefly,

'field' refers to content, 'tenor' to the social relationships enacted, and 'mode' to the communication channel.

[3] Macro-genres are complexes of smaller genres (see Martin and Rose 2008).

[4] The ELO locates himself, at the beginning of his interaction with the young person, as a member of the Lebanese Muslim community and identifies the young person as also part of this community.

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Chapter 10

Corpus Linguistics and Systemic Functional Linguistics: Interpersonal Meaning, Identity and Bonding in Popular Culture*

Monika Bednarek

1 Introduction

This chapter is a contribution to the relatively recent combination of corpus linguistics (henceforth CL) and Systemic Functional Linguistics (henceforth SFL). It is also a contribution to the analysis of popular culture that is becoming increasingly more important in linguistics (compare Caldwell *this volume* on rap music, Tian *this volume* on Mulan). The main focus is on how CL connects to relevant SFL dimensions such as system/structure, stratification, instantiation, individuation, and genesis. The chapter also offers a corpus approach to identity (Tann *this volume*) and bonding (Caple *this volume*), illustrating this briefly with the help of corpus data from American popular culture, namely the television series *Gilmore Girls* (see Bednarek 2008c for a description).

Sections 2 to 2.7 deal with the question of how CL connects to relevant SFL dimensions such as system/structure, stratification, instantiation, individuation, and genesis (Martin *this volume*). Section 3 focuses on the investigation of identity and bonding, and looks at emotive interjections in the *Gilmore Girls.*

2 SFL Dimensions and Corpus Linguistics

2.1 Introduction

As a first starting point let us look at some of the dimensions of SFL research, which are introduced by Halliday and Matthiessen (2004: 20–31) and also discussed by Martin and White (2005: 7–33). Such parameters include metafunction, stratification/realisation, axis, system, structure, instantiation, genesis, context, register, and genre (cf. Martin *this volume*), to which we can add individuation as a more recent addition (Martin 2007, 2008, *this volume*). In order to demonstrate how a corpus approach can help to investigate identity and bonding, I shall mainly limit my discussion to interpersonal meaning (i.e. meaning that relates to the negotiation of social relations between participants) as well as the concepts of system/structure, stratification/realisation, instantiation/individuation and genesis.

But first a clarification of CL terminology: when I talk about *corpus* in this chapter I am using the term in its technical sense, to refer to a collection of electronically stored semiotic data that has been designed according to specific corpus design criteria to be maximally representative of (a particular variety of) language or other semiotic systems (see e.g. Butler 2004: 150). Thus, a corpus is **not** equivalent to a *database*, a *collection*, or *text anthology/archive* (see also Baker 2006: 26) as these 'are not necessarily ordered, the selection of material need not be made on linguistic criteria, and there may be no claim that the material is in any sense representative of a language, or one of its varieties' (Butler 2004: 151). Some of the chapters in this volume thus use the term *corpus* simply to refer to the collection of data they analyse, but this is not the sense in which the term is used in this chapter nor in CL generally. The corpus that I use in this chapter is a 1.5 million word corpus of television dialogue from the American series *Gilmore Girls* (GiGi). The corpus covers all episodes and currently consists of word-to-word dialogue, some descriptions of setting, action scenes and/or camera movements, and names of speakers (e.g. Lorelai, Rory, Luke).[1] The transcripts are available online and are characterized by multiple authorship, as is common in TV and film production (Bubel 2006). This corpus is a specialized corpus of scripted dialogue, and is maximally representative of this particular television series but not representative of television dialogue in general. For further detail on CL and issues such as types of corpora, corpus linguistic applications, corpus design etc see e.g. Butler (2004), Wynne (2005, 2006) or Baker (2006).

2.2 System and structure

The notions of system and structure go back to Saussure's distinction between paradigmatic and syntagmatic relations. As Halliday and Matthiessen (2004) explain:

> Structure is the syntagmatic ordering in language: patterns, or regularities, in what *goes together with* what. System, by contrast, is ordering on the other axis: patterns in what *could go instead of* what. This is the paradigmatic ordering of language . . . (Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 22; see also Zhao *this volume*; for discussions in CL see Sinclair 2004b: Chapters 8, 10)

CL analyses provide information on both kinds of ordering. One way of analysing corpora is looking up lexico-grammatical items with computer software such as Wordsmith (Scott 1998). The result is often displayed in a concordance line showing the key word in context (this format is called KWIC), as in Figure 10.1, providing a few lines from instances of *to admire* in texts from the British National Corpus (100 million words of British English, http://www.natcorp.ox.ac.uk).

This example demonstrates that concordance lines show the essence of Saussurean linguistics in a nutshell (Sinclair 2004a) by allowing us to see the syntagmatic and the paradigmatic axis at once (see also Matthiessen 1998). On the syntagmatic axis we can see that *to admire* is often preceded by lemmata

```
1           cottage from the Post Office and stood back to admire the machine again. Mary
2   y and placing it on the garden wall. He stepped back to admire his handiwork. That was
3  g-room and helped her into the dress, then stood back to admire the effect. &bquo; Oh,
4  on of sunlight flooding the canvas and she stood back to admire the effect. &bquo; It
5  ff hard belt around Alexandra 's waist and stood back to admire the effect. Alexandra f
6   de. She dabs a little powder on top, and stands back to admire the effect. It is plea
7  here he could find it, and before setting off, halted to admire the spectacle. &bquo;
8    y &mdash; who had stepped outside for a few minutes to admire the sights. Whereas the
9  rator to bring about a violent halt. He did n't pause to admire the car ( the car seeme
10 's niche oblivious of the girl 's presence and paused to admire an altar cloth hanging
11  ve the sherry glasses and set out coffee. She paused to admire the proportions and app
12 &b quo; This is fantastic, &equo; Alex said, stopping to admire, while Charlotte gave D
13  the turkey . Finally she stepped back from the table to admire her handiwork. Then,
```

FIGURE 10.1 Selected concordance lines for *to admire*

such as STEP BACK, STAND BACK, HALT, PAUSE, STOP (which share a semantic feature of 'stopping to move'), and followed by definite noun groups (in particular, *the effect*). Syntagmatic chains or patterns that can be observed thus include collocation (syntagmatic patterns involving lexico-grammatical items), colligation (syntagmatic patterns involving grammatical phenomena), and semantic preference (syntagmatic patterns involving semantic features). Compare Matthiessen (1998) and Hunston (2006) for discussions of patterns with respect to SFL. On the paradigmatic axis we can see that STEP BACK could be substituted for STAND BACK, HALT, PAUSE or STOP, so that there is an element of choice that can be observed as well. As Tucker (2006) points out, '[t]here is . . . a mixture of obligatory and optional co-selection, and, where there are options, they are highly restricted, and probabilistic' (Tucker 2006: 101).

While SFL can be said to favour the paradigm (choice) over the syntagm (structure) (Plum and Cowling 1987: 283, Nesbitt and Plum 1988: 7), with system networks representing paradigmatic relations (but see Teich 1999 on dependency in SFG, and Teich et al. 2005, 2006a, 2006b on attempts to integrate system and structure through multi-layer annotation), CL tries to 'work on the assumption that meaning is created on both axes; . . . we may assume that they contain equal meaning potential. There is no reason why one should have a priority in meaning potential over the other' (Sinclair 2004b: 170). In fact, in an SFL investigation of tense choice, Plum and Cowling (1987) and Nesbitt and Plum (1988) found that choices are not 'statistically independent of previous choices' (Plum and Cowling 1987: 294), calling for mores studies of 'the syntagmatic change in probabilities' (Plum and Cowling 1987: 294) and talking about this in terms of 'patterns of feature co-selection' (Nesbitt and Plum 1988: 22; see also Halliday 2005a: 71–72). Halliday (2005b) notes that whether choices in one system are affected by choices in another system is

'quite impossible to predict' (Halliday 2005b: 132). More recently, theorists working on the interface of CL and SFL have tried to incorporate notions of co-selection into SFL modelling through several novel concepts including: 'pre-selected' paths through system networks in the Cardiff Grammar (Tucker 2006); through the intersections of simultaneous systems (Matthiessen 2006), particularly work on 'collocational patterns' (Matthiessen 1998); and through notions such as 'bonds' (Knight 2008) and 'couplings' (Zappavigna et al. 2008, *this volume,* following Martin 2000), 'syndromes' (Zappavigna et al. 2008) and clustering (Bartsch et al. 2005). Although working in an SFL framework such investigations have similarities with CL research on colligation (Sinclair 2004b), semantic preference/prosody (Louw 1993, Partington 2004, Hunston 2007, Bednarek 2008b), evaluative collocation (Bednarek 2006, 2008a), and lexical priming (Hoey 2005), and are not incompatible with such research. However, this research is very much in its infancy and needs to be validated with the help of corpus analysis (Zappavigna et al. 2008: 182–3). Another issue lies in the investigation of intra-textual patterning (patterns occurring in one text – what Halliday (2005a: 72) calls 'transitional probabilities within the text') vs. inter-textual patterning (patterns occurring across texts).

2.3 Stratification/realisation

In SFL language is regarded as a semiotic system with three different strata: phonology/graphology – lexicogrammar – discourse semantics, with 'three cycles of coding at different levels of abstraction' (Martin and White 2005: 8). Each level recodes or realizes the next: discourse semantics is realized through lexicogrammar; lexicogrammar is realized through phonology/graphology.

With respect to CL, in as far as the corpus represents text,[2] what researchers are confronted with is the level of phonology/graphology: '[R]ealization comes in because what becomes accessible to us is the text as **realized** in sound or writing. We cannot directly access instances of language at higher strata – as selections in meaning, or even in wording' (Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 33; original bold). This means that some corpus queries are 'restrictive in the sense of being tied to formal realisation' (Hansen-Schirra et al. 2007: 246). However, additional strata are accessible through an automatic, semi-automatic or manual pre-processing of data in CL, as first outlined in Matthiessen (2006: 109), and here slightly modified:

1. Corpus researchers can search for items as formally realized in distinct graphological units in a 'raw' (i.e. unannotated) corpus (graphological stratum);
2. Corpus researchers can search for closed-class lexico-grammatical systems, either in raw corpora or in part-of-speech tagged or grammatically parsed corpora (lexico-grammatical stratum);
3. Corpus researchers can search for discourse semantic systems in previously semantically annotated corpora (discourse semantic stratum).

Matthiessen also makes the valuable point that there is an 'increase in labour intensity, and decrease in potential for automation' (Matthiessen 2006: 109) as we move up the strata. The limitations of current corpus annotation methods and analyses, and availability of analytical tools, especially with respect to higher strata are well documented.[3]

2.4 Instantiation

The cline of instantiation is a further important complementarity in SFL. As Halliday and Matthiessen phrase it, '[t]he **system** of a language is 'instantiated' in the form of text' (Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 26). There is a relation of mutual dependence: while a text 'is an instance of an underlying system, and has no meaningful existence except as such' (Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 26), language as system can only be observed through text; it is 'a virtual thing; it is not the sum of all possible texts but a theoretical entity to which we can assign certain properties and which we can invest with considerable explanatory power' (Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 27). This can be usefully compared to Giddens's *theory of structuration.* In *The Constitution of Society* Giddens argues that 'structure exists, as time-space presence, only in its **instantiations** in such practices and as memory traces orienting the conduct of knowledgeable human agents' (Giddens 1984: 17, my bold). He continues: 'the rules and resources drawn upon in the production and reproduction of social action are at the same time the means of system reproduction (the duality of structure)' (Giddens 1984: 19). In other words, while social action is influenced by social structure, social agents simultaneously 'recreate (and also to some extent alter) those structural characteristics in [their] actions' (Giddens 1993: 18). As Plum and Cowling (1987) put it from an SFL perspective and with respect to language, 'the frequencies observed in text both reflect the system (at a given point in time) as well as shape the system (over time)' (Plum and Cowling 1987: 284). Well-known analogies that are used in SFL include that of a batsman's shot and his/her strike rate in cricket (Martin and White 2005: 24) or that of the weather and the climate (Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 26). The system itself is conceptualized as probabilistic, with 'frequency in text . . . the instantiation of probability in the grammar' (Halliday 2005a: 64). Instantiation is theorized as a cline, and intermediate sub-systems between system and text include register and text type (see Figure 10.2 on page 242).

Where are corpora located in this model? Halliday argues that 'the transformation of instance into system can be observed only through the technology of the corpus, which allows us to accumulate instances and monitor the diachronic variation in their patterns of frequency' (Halliday 2005a: 67). Since a corpus is a collection of texts sampled according to specific criteria, it is 'always located at the instance pole of the **cline of instantiation**' (Matthiessen 2006: 104). Corpora allow researchers to identify patterns, or 'systemic profiles'

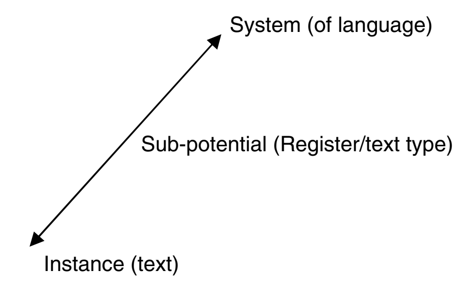


Figure 10.2 The cline of instantiation

(Matthiessen 2006: 104) at different points along the cline of instantiation: that is, systemic profiles of particular texts, systemic profiles of text types and systemic profiles of the overall system potential (Matthiessen 2006: 105). Thus, the cline of instantiation can be related to different types of corpora (Figure 10.3).

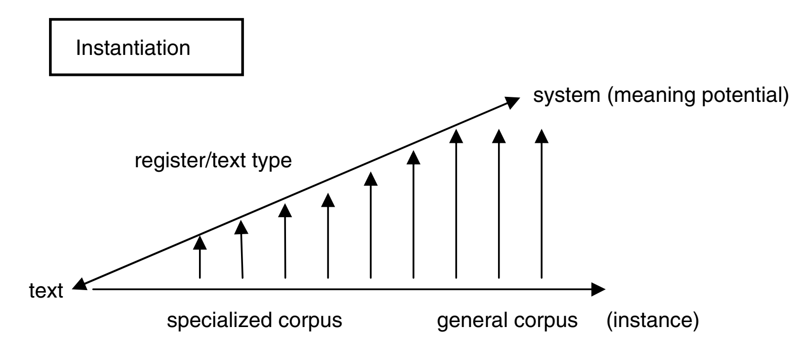


Figure 10.3 Corpora and the cline of instantiation

Figure 10.3 aims to simultaneously show the two main points Matthiessen (2006) makes: that (1) corpora are always located at the instance pole; and that (2) different kinds of corpora allow us to infer meaning potential located at different points on the cline of instantiation. In other words, we can use different kinds of instances, ranging from the individual text to a specialized corpus (e.g. a collection of research articles or short stories or news reports) to a general corpus (aiming to be maximally representative of the language as a whole) in order to make assumptions about the meaning potentials of texts, registers/genres or the language system. Figure 10.3 has *text* at the intersection of the instance and the potential to show that we can look at it both as an actual

instance, and as having a certain meaning potential that can differ according to subjective reading.[4]

Summing up, we can use texts in corpora to infer something about language systems or subsystems. In earlier SFL research this was theorized with respect to system and process, following Hjelmslev (e.g. Nesbitt and Plum 1988: 9–10), but much of the recent research in SFL has addressed this issue with respect to instantiation (compare e.g. Steiner 2001, 2004, Bartsch et al. 2005, Halliday 2005a, Bartsch 2007, Holtz 2007, Neumann *forthcoming*, and references in note 16). In Section 3.3 I will also use a corpus to infer something about a language system (the linguistic universe of the *Gilmore Girls*), but will do this with respect to individuation (identity) rather than instantiation.

2.5 Instantiation and individuation

Individuation is a recent concept that is related to instantiation and that has been theorized in SFL mainly by Jim Martin (see also Knight *this volume*), although he attributes the term to personal communication with Christian Matthiessen (Martin 2008: 35). Martin's (2007, 2008) notion of individuation is inspired by Bernstein's work and relates to 'the relation of system to individual (of cultural reservoir to individual repertoires in Bernstein's terms . . .)' (Martin 2007: 276). Simplifying the matter greatly we can say that instantiation relates to how a text is different from the system, and individuation relates to how an individual is different from the community. In looking at individuation we are thus interested in the relation of the individual to sub-communities and the community as a whole; in analogy to instantiation this relation is conceptualized by Martin as a cline (Figure 10.4).

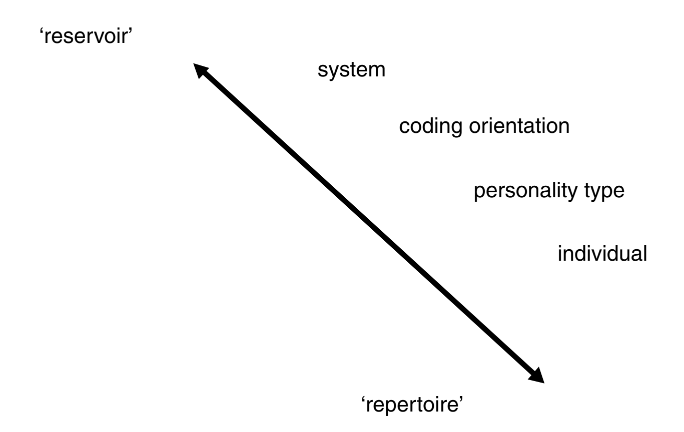


Figure 10.4 The cline of individuation (from Martin 2007: 294)

As implied by Martin (2008: Figure 3; here reproduced in an adapted form as Figure 10.5), reservoir is simply what is called *system* on the cline of instantiation looked at through a different lens.

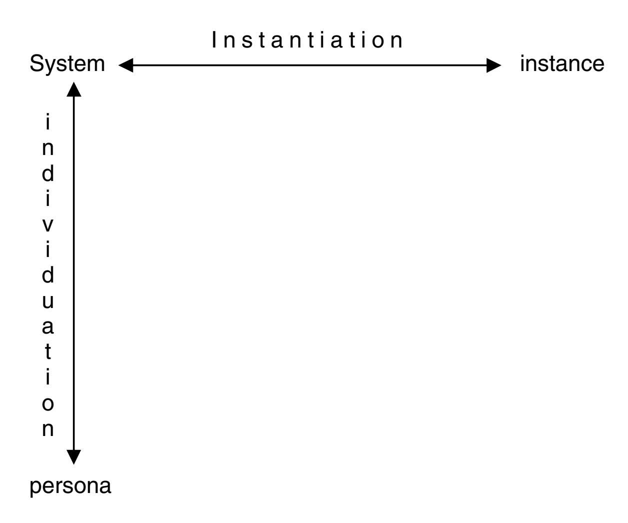


FIGURE 10.5 Reservoir as system

This seems to me to suggest that text instantiates and 'individuates' both reservoir (the system) and repertoire (Bednarek 2007). When we look at a text, say, an academic research paper, how do we know which features point to the register of academic research papers and which features point to the repertoire of the particular academic writer as far as his/her style of writing is concerned?

In analogy to the cline of instantiation, there are also different sub-repertoires and we can infer them through corpus analysis: if we took a specialized corpus representing all academic research papers an author wrote this would allow

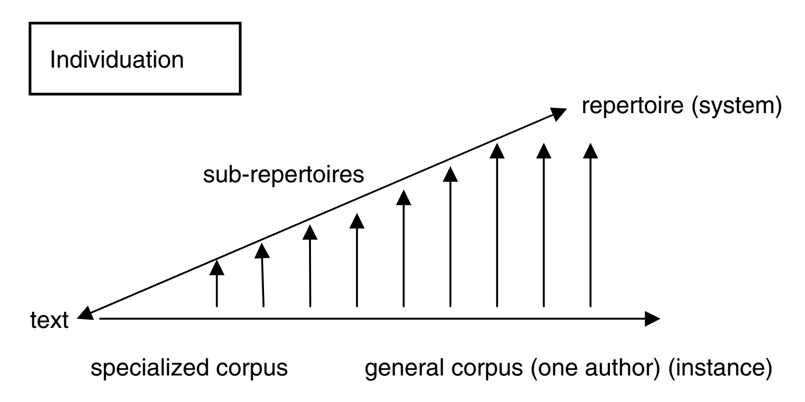
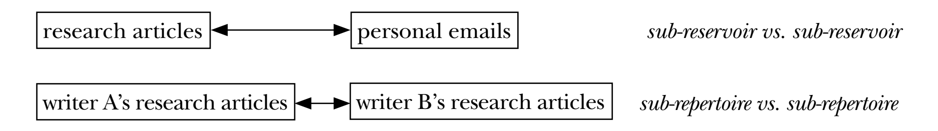


FIGURE 10.6 Corpora, instantiation and individuation

us to infer his/her sub-repertoire concerning academic writing, and if we took a more general corpus of his/her writing it would allow us to infer his/her more general sub-repertoire. (Compare Figure 10.6 on page 244).

However, such analysis would still not tell us about how these repertoires differ from other speakers and writers.[5] One solution would be to compare corpora of different kinds: in CL terminology, in addition to the corpus that we are interested in – what Scott and Tribble (2006: 58) call the 'node-text' – we need another corpus that works as a standard of comparison to establish what is special about this node corpus – what is called the 'reference' corpus by Scott and Tribble (2006: 58). This reference corpus 'should be an appropriate sample of the language which the text we are studying . . . is written in' (Scott and Tribble 2006: 58). So for example, we could compare a corpus of academic research articles by different authors (sub-reservoir) with a corpus of one writer's academic research articles (sub-repertoire) or we could compare a corpus of personal emails by different authors (sub-reservoir) with a corpus of one writer's personal emails (sub-repertoire).

Corpus analyses can also compare different sub-reservoirs and sub-repertoires:



Analyses can become more and more complex through adding comparisons between different authors (Figure 10.7).

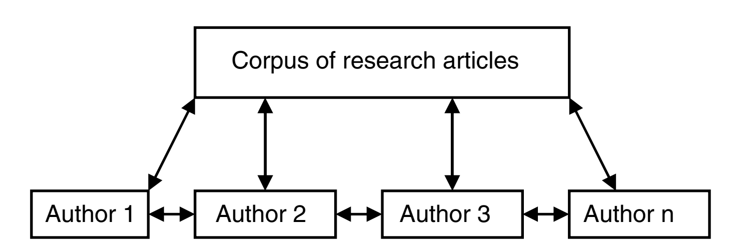


Figure 10.7 Comparing authors

And we could also add more reference corpora (Bednarek 2007). This kind of analysis is undertaken in CL research using comparable corpora (Hunston 2002: 15), without theorizing this with the clines of instantiation and individuation. There is a clear need for combining SFL and CL research in this area. In SFL, research in individuation and even in instantiation 'is still in its infancy' (Martin 2007: 295). Analyses of individuation in particular have not yet used quantification (apart from Hasan's and her colleagues' research on coding orientation,[6] see Hasan 2002, Halliday 2005b: 141–142, and Butt's e.g. *forthcoming* research on personality) but remain focused on the analysis of a few related

texts (Martin 2007, 2008). Quantitative research will need to take into account issues of corpus design (Wynne 2005 and Section 2.6) and be aware of the tight interweaving of individuation, instantiation and realisation: 'There is of course no way to construe identities other than by instantiating them in texts; and there is no way to form texts other than by drawing on the realisational resources members of a culture share' (Martin 2008: 57).

2.6 Genesis

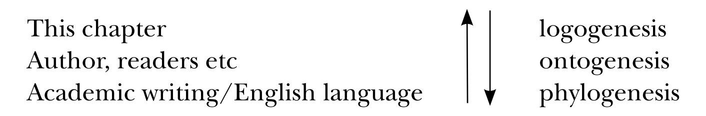
With respect to how meaning is created in language (*semogenesis*), Halliday and Matthiessen (1999: 17–18) outline three relevant time frames:

1. The **phylogenetic**: the development of language(s) over time (evolution);
2. The **ontogenetic**: the development of a speaker's language over time (growth);
3. The **logogenetic**: the development of meaning in text over time (unfolding).[7]

According to the authors, these are all intricately related:

> the individual's (transfinite) meaning potential is constructed out of (finite) instances of text; the (transfinite) meaning potential of the species is constructed out of (finite) instances of individual 'meaners' . . . [T]he system of the language (the meaning potential of the species) provides the environment in which the individual's meaning emerges; the meaning potential of the individual provides the environment within which the meaning of the text emerges. (Halliday and Matthiessen 1999: 18)

An example would be the creation of this chapter: this involves the unfolding of meaning in one particular text, and is produced in the environment of the evolved system of the English language (in particular, the register of academic writing) as well as in the environment of the individual producing this text (me and my repertoire). At the same time, this chapter is an instance of academic writing which will build up the meaning potential of individual speakers (you, me, our repertoires) as well as contributing to the register of academic writing.



Consequently, looking at texts and corpora enables us to say something about logogenesis, ontogenesis and phylogenesis. Here are three corpus linguists on such issues (see further Coffin and O'Halloran 2006):

> As a word is acquired through encounters with it in speech and writing, it becomes cumulatively loaded with the contexts and co-texts in which it is

encountered, and our knowledge of it includes the fact that it co-occurs with certain other words in certain kinds of context. The same applies to word sequences built out of these words; these too become loaded with the contexts and co-texts in which they occur. (Hoey 2005: 8)

The intuition of a language user regarding a particular lexical item is the product of tens, hundreds, or thousands of experiences of that item, scattered across years of heterogeneous language experience. In representing the discourse of a community, a very large corpus can mimic, though not of course, replicate, that experience. (Thompson and Hunston 2000: 15)

With respect to the *Gilmore Girls* corpus, this is made up of seven seasons, and 153 individual texts (each representing one episode) with many scenes in each episode. Offering a qualitative discourse analysis of one episode, or several scenes from within episodes would show us the unfolding of meaning in text,[8] representing thus a **logogenetic** analysis of text that belongs to a 'logogenetic series' (Matthiessen 1993: 21). Further, we can look at the *Gilmore Girls* corpus as being representative of a (sub-)system. In contrast to the language system this would not seem to be a dynamic open system (Lemke 1993) but rather a dynamic closed system, as it is not amenable to further change but was dynamically (temporally) developed over time.[9] Thus the CL analysis of patterns in the corpus can be interpreted as an analysis of **phylogenetic** patterns, as providing evidence of the 'evolution' of the *Gilmore Girls* universe or 'sub-system' (which we can then compare to the system of spoken language, see Bednarek 2008c). **Ontogenetically** speaking, we can create sub-corpora comprising only the dialogue of individual characters in *Gilmore Girls* and investigate the development of their language over the seven seasons or we can create sub-corpora for each season and investigate the development of the script writers' language in general.

A final comment on semogenesis: as stated above, both the meaning potential of the individual and the meaning potential of the species is constructed of finite instances of text. Clearly, however, not all finite instances of texts have the same weight in semogenesis: First, some texts are 'highly valued in the community or . . . [have] special significance in some domain such as history or politics. Here we treat texts as artefacts – objects of study in their own right' (Matthiessen 2006: 108). An emphasis on repeated patterns of semiotic behaviour neglects the importance of outstanding singular texts that might have an impact on phylogenesis and ontogenesis that goes beyond the impact of 'ordinary' singular texts that achieve their impact through repetition. An example from environmental discourse would be the Al Gore produced and presented documentary *An Inconvenient Truth* (*AIT*), which has been widely credited with responsibility for a seismic shift in the attention of politicians, governments and the media towards environmental matters and in policy changes around issues of environmental sustainability. In fact, its impact was recognized in the awarding of the Nobel Peace Prize to Gore in 2007 for 'efforts to build up and

disseminate greater knowledge about man-made climate change, and to lay the foundations for the measures that are needed to counteract such change' (http://nobelprize.org/nobel_prizes/peace/laureates/2007/). The impact of such extraordinary texts, which are more powerful than normal texts produced countless times by speakers over time, presumably depends on diverse factors such as the profile of the author/speaker, the context of reception, and in the case of *An Inconvenient Truth,* the sophisticated use of semiotic resources (Bednarek et al. 2008). Studying such unique texts, then, also provides important insights into the construal of categories, and is an argument for qualitative analyses of individual texts.

Secondly, some publications are more read than others and thus might have greater impact on phylo- and ontogenesis: 'According to claims, the most likely document that an ordinary English citizen will cast his or her eyes over is *The Sun* newspaper' (Sinclair 2005: 7).[10] While it is not clear what exactly the impact of such (valued and/or widespread) texts is (e.g. are they responsible for the creation of 'bonding icons' (Stenglin 2004)?)[11] this has at least two implications for CL. On the one hand, it needs to be acknowledged that special texts become 'lost' in the corpus where they have only as much weight as any other text:

> [F]requent patterns of language do not always necessarily imply underlying hegemonic discourses. Or rather, the 'power' of individual texts or speakers may not be evenly distributed. A corpus which contains a single (unrepresentative) speech by the leader of a country or religious group, newspaper editor or CEO may carry more weight discursively than hundreds of similar texts which were produced by 'ordinary' people. (Baker 2006: 19)

On the other hand, this question clearly needs to be discussed in relation to corpus design. For example, with respect to the quote above, Sinclair asks if we should include more texts from *The Sun* than from other newspapers in a corpus of British English on account of its importance (Sinclair 2005: 7). In fact, many texts that are included in corpora such as the British National Corpus differ in circulation status (size of readership/circulation level) (Lee 2001: 68). Sinclair notes that issues of representativeness and balance in corpus design are far from resolved at present (Sinclair 2005: 7–9) and recommends that in the meantime, corpus design 'should be documented fully with information about the contents and arguments in justification of the decisions taken' (Sinclair 2005: 8). For instance, with respect to the *Gilmore Girls* corpus the series as a whole can be considered as an artefact that has had some impact across the world and is thus worthy of study. It has attracted as many as 5.2 million viewers in the US (season two) and by season five, it was the WB channel's second most watched primetime show (www.wikipedia.org). It also showed a one hundred and twenty per cent increase in the cost of an average commercial from 2000 to 2003 (www.nielsenmedia.com). *Gilmore Girls* was/is broadcast in at least 52 different countries, and it has received many awards and award nominations,

indicating that the series is recognized in the film and television industry. Finally, *Gilmore Girls* has also inspired academic research (e.g. Calvin 2008).

2.7 A three-pronged approach

Despite arguing for the importance of using corpora in SFL to validate claims made on the basis of the analysis of only a few texts and for investigating issues such as instantiation and individuation, what I actually propose is a 'three-pronged approach' to the analysis of discourse. This approach involves (1) large-scale computerized corpus analysis, (2) semi-automated small-scale corpus analysis, and (3) manual case studies. As such, this is an approach that involves macro- (large-scale quantitative analysis), meso- (small-scale quantitative analysis) and micro- (case studies) levels. The methodology was first suggested in Bednarek (2008c, d), and is discussed in these publications. Such an approach extends previous research that involves both corpus and discourse analysis, for instance corpus-based discourse analyses (Baker 2006), recent sociolinguistic research (e.g. Holmes and Schnurr 2005) or Matthiessen's and his colleagues' 'two-pronged approach' (Matthiessen 2006: 110). With respect to stratification and genesis, the three strands of the analysis differ quite considerably. While large-scale corpus analysis has to focus on formally defined graphological items as realizing lexico-grammar, small-scale corpus analysis can additionally incorporate discourse semantics and case studies can look at context in more detail. In terms of genesis, large-scale analyses probably tell us more about phylogenesis than about logogenesis, whereas case studies are more concerned with logogenesis than with phylogenesis. In terms of representativeness and intuition (two key issues in epistemology), large-scale corpus analysis offers analyses that rely less on intuition and are more representative than small-scale and case studies. Importantly, such matters are located on a cline: large-scale analyses still involve intuition, and there is no claim that a corpus is necessarily 100% representative. Table 10.1 represents this visually:

Table 10.1 A three-pronged approach

Approach	**Large-scale**	**Small-scale**	**Case studies**
Data	*GiGi corpus*	*GiGi sub-corpus*	*GiGi scenes*
Stratum	phonology/graphology; lexicogrammar	+ discourse semantics	+ context
Genesis	+ phylo-		+ logo-
Representativeness			
Intuition			

In the following Sections, I focus solely on a large-scale corpus investigation of interpersonal meaning in *Gilmore Girls*, with an emphasis on identity and bonding.

3 Identity and Interpersonal Meaning: A Corpus Approach

3.1 Identity and performativity

Approaches to identity can be found both outside and inside linguistics and are surveyed in Benwell and Stokoe (2006; on identity see also Tann *this volume*). Historically, there has been a move away from the conception of a rational, unified self in Enlightenment to a more fragmented, discursive self in postmodernism (Benwell and Stokoe 2006: 18–24). Approaches outside linguistics include:

- Psychoanalysis: Freud/Lacan
- Postmodernity, e.g. queer theory/gender (Butler), postcolonial theory (e.g. Hall, Bhaba)
- Sociology: Goffman, social identity theory, variationist sociolinguistics, communities of practice
- Discursive approaches: Althusser, Gramsci, Foucault, Derrida, Butler

(for summaries and discussion see Benwell and Stokoe 2006).

Approaches within linguistics are located in different sub-disciplines, including sociolinguistics (e.g. variationist sociolinguistics), performative analysis, Conversation Analysis, membership categorization, Critical Discourse Analysis, narrative analysis, positioning theory, discursive psychology, politeness theory and SFL. With respect to approaches outside linguistics, Benwell and Stokoe (2006) note that:

> most of the ‘grand’ theories of discourse . . . engage in only the slenderest of ways with actual situated examples of language use, neglecting both linguistic detail and empirical evidence: *how* exactly are identities discursively produced or performed? What is the process or *mechanism* by which the individual speaker takes up positions in discourse to which they have been summoned? (Benwell and Stokoe 2006: 35)

There is thus a clear need for linguistic and semiotic approaches to the analysis of identity. Bednarek (2007) tries to combine one such ‘grand’ theory with SFL and CL – this is the notion of performativity as elaborated by Judith Butler with respect to gender. Butler’s theory is described in detail in Butler (1999), Salih (2006), and Jagger (2008). In her words,

> [T]he substantive effect of gender is performatively produced and compelled by the regulatory practices of gender coherence. Hence, within the inherited discourse of the metaphysics of substance, gender proves to be performative –

> that is, **constituting** the identity it is purported to be. In this sense, gender is always a doing, thought not a doing by a subject who might be said to preexist the deed . . . There is no gender identity behind the expressions of gender; that identity is performatively **constituted** by the very 'expressions' that are said to be its results. (Butler 1999: 34, my bold)
>
> As in other ritual social dramas, the action of gender requires a performance that is ***repeated***. This repetition is at once a reenactment and reexperiencing of a set of meanings already socially established; and it is the mundane and ritualized form of their legitimation. Although there are individual bodies that enact these significations by becoming stylized into gendered modes, this 'action' is a public action. There are **temporal** and **collective** dimensions to these actions . . . (Butler 1999: 191, my bold)

How does this relate to SFL? In fact, there are some similarities between SFL and Butler's theory as emphasized in these two quotes through boldface. First, both are constructivist: 'it is the grammar itself that construes experience, that constructs for us our world of events and objects . . . Meanings do not 'exist' before the wordings that realize them. They are formed out of the impact between our consciousness and its environment' (Halliday and Matthiessen 1999: 17). Secondly, both theories have temporal dimensions, with the relevant SFL time frames already introduced above: the phylogenetic (cultural), the ontogenetic (individual) and the logogenetic (discursive). And thirdly, both emphasize the social and consider identity as intersubjective. Combining the two theories, I would like to make two main points about identity:

1. Identity is created through discourse phylogenetically (establishing a system of identity in culture); ontogenetically (with discourse ultimately creating a *perceived* interior coherent identity in the individual); and logogenetically (creating a particular construal of identity in a given text).
2. Importantly, patterns that are *repeated across texts* (remember the repetitive nature of performativity) contribute both to the phylogenetic and to the ontogenetic development of identity, impacting both on the cultural and the individual system (reservoir and repertoire).

Linguistics can thus get at the performative nature of identity by studying **repeated discursive patterns** which is what corpus linguistics is about: In terms of the different perspective on language, corpora show us both the actual (performance; parole) and the typical (the repeated), allowing researchers to make statements about likelihood and typicality.

3.2 Interpersonal identity and bonding

There are many potential linguistic features for indicating identity (Benwell and Stokoe 2006), and for providing characterization (Culpeper 2001). Let's

briefly look at an example starting from the assumption that scripted television dialogue, as other scripted discourse such as fiction, seems to be 'designed to align readers, as well as . . . characters' (Martin 2008: 56) by construing identities of characters. One way in which this is done in general is through intertextual references or allusions that abound in *Gilmore Girls* dialogue. Westman (2007) mentions allusions to classical literature, popular culture, American and European history, celebrity, feminist activism and current events. These are:

> scattered liberally throughout the scripts and often appear without contextual cues – as a viewer, you either get the reference or you don't. These references pose a 'puzzle' for the show's audience, according to Lauren Graham, and the audience's pleasure resides in sharing the characters' knowledge or in sharing the characters' pleasure in their exchange. (Westman 2007: 24)

Consider this extract for instance, with its reference to Kundera's *The Unbearable Lightness of Being*:

RORY:	Hey. You are not gonna believe it!
LORELAI:	Okay. Hold on. Believe what?
RORY:	Milan Kundera is speaking at our graduation.
LORELAI:	Oh.
RORY:	What? You're not a big Kundera fan?
LORELAI:	Uh, no. I'm unbearably light on him.
RORY:	I see.

(7.21, 'Unto the breach')

With respect to allusions in a particular news story genre, Caple and Bednarek (*forthcoming*), following Caple (2008, *this volume*) note that a genre that features such references very frequently:

> naturalizes the play, setting up a reading position from which the compliant or 'obliging reader' (Kitis and Milapides 1996: 585) is expected to figure out this play. This is a reader who is not only 'actively involved in the construction of meaning and significance, but also in the intertextual process of activating other texts and discourses which are part of his/her background knowledge in constructing the appropriate myths' (Kitis and Milapides 1996: 585). This is quite a demanding activity, one that requires considerable knowledge on the part of the reader, not only linguistically speaking, but also in terms of the general, popular and cultural knowledge that they must possess in order to participate. (Caple and Bednarek *forthcoming*)

Similarly, it can be argued that if the viewer of *Gilmore Girls* 'gets' it, s/he feels like a part of the community, bonding with the fictional population of Stars Hollow.[12] The references in *Gilmore Girls* work to 'membership the [viewers]

into belonging to a community with shared linguistic and cultural values' (Caple and Bednarek *forthcoming*). At the same time, the allusions work to characterize Lorelai and Rory's identities. They are painted as unique, the only ones to understand their in-jokes, to do the fast-talking, and to get their references, representing a tight and close in-group, which even Lorelai's mother cannot access, often commenting on not understanding them. Thus, allusions clearly work for Lorelai and Rory as a resource for bonding.

Aside from intertextuality (Caple 2008) and allusion (Caple *this volume*), most literature within SFL is devoted to analysing evaluative and emotional language as a resource for bonding and affiliation (see note 12). Martin (2008) notes that

> As far as relevant realisation resources are concerned, we are barely scratching the surface. Alongside appraisal, the entire pandora's [sic] box of involvement systems passed over in Martin and White's (2005) appraisal system are of extreme relevance (naming, technicality, abstraction, swearing, anti-language, etc.). And . . . the way in which these resources couple with ideational meaning, within and across modalities of communication is critical. We don't after all simply affiliate with feelings; we affiliate with feelings about people, places, and things, and the activities they participate in, however abstract or concrete. (Martin 2008: 57–8)

With respect to bonding, we can similarly ask what potential resources are. In other words, if bonding is about sharing (Stenglin 2004: 402), what are the things we can share? In terms of SFL clines, we can share meaning potential along the cline of instantiation (e.g. subjectified meanings, affording instances, semantic sub-potentials, generalized meaning potentials (Martin and White 2005: 25)). We can also share sub-reservoirs located on the cline of individuation. Finally, we can certainly share experience.[13] All this can be referred to in text, and some linguistic practices that seem to put bonding at risk thus include:

- references to emotion (including interest)/evaluation (involvement and appraisal resources [Martin and White 2005]; gossip [Eggins and Slade 1997])
- references to beliefs (religion, politics etc.)
- references to linguistic repertoires (e.g. intertextual references/allusions; use of phrases like *as you know*, *of course*; showing off vs. being an expert; use of foreign language . . .)
- sharing personal experience (e.g. story telling).

The focus in the following is on some realisations of emotionality. This gets at what Tracy (2002) refers to as 'personal and relational identities' (Tracy 2002) which have to do with personality, attitudes and relationships that are negotiated with others in specific communicative situations (e.g. friendliness,

equality). I will use the term 'interpersonal identities' as cover term and see these as at least partially construed and emergent in discourse. The claim is that the use of evaluative and emotional language tells us something about interpersonal identity, because such language:

- construes the 'symbolic repertoire of a community' (Cohen 1985: 21), and thus 'an imagined community' (Anderson 1983)[14]
- realizes tenor, the register variable concerned with the construal of role relationships between participants (see Martin and White 2005: 35 on appraisal and involvement)
- invites bonding (Stenglin 2004) and affiliation (Knight 2008, *this volume*)

However, it is noted that the focus on linguistics disregards for now the embodied nature of interpersonal identities (through modes such as gesture, facial expression etc; see e.g. Martinec 2001, Hood *forthcoming*). Further, there is no claim that interpersonal meaning is the *only* dimension relevant to identity/characterization, affiliation and bonding.

I shall briefly focus on emotive interjections as one of the involvement resources neglected in Martin and White (2005). In terms of the SFL dimensions outlined above (stratification, realisation, metafunction, instantiation, individuation), the focus is on lexico-grammatical realisations (interjections) of an interpersonal discourse semantic system (involvement), searched for in terms of distinct graphological units (e.g. *oh god*). Instances of these units are examined with respect to individuation, i.e. with an emphasis on character identity (characterization).

3.3 Emotive interjections

A selection of common emotive interjections was investigated in the *Gilmore Girls* corpus. These interjections are: *Jesus, Christ, geez* (including *oh geez* etc.), *hell, damn, damn it, shit, fuck, shoot, yuck, god, oh god, for the love of god, dear god, good god,* (*oh*) *thank god, for X's sake* (*for heaven's sake, for Pete's sake, for God's sake, for goodness sake*). In Ameka's (1992) terms, these are emotive rather than cognitive, and include primary interjections (*yuck*), secondary interjections (*damn*) and interjectional phrases (*oh thank god; for the love of god*). Interjections have been linked to affect in many approaches in linguistics (Bednarek 2008d: 11–12). For instance, Martin and White (2005: 68) talk about swearing as construing 'emotional outbursts'. And interjections have been defined as 'relatively conventionalised vocal gestures . . . which express a speaker's mental state, action or attitude or reaction to a situation' (Ameka 1992: 106). Importantly, 'they are all produced in reaction to a linguistic or extra-linguistic context, and can only be interpreted relative to the context in which they are produced' (Ameka 1992: 108). For example, looking at occurrences of *oh my god* in its

context in the corpus (not reproduced here for copyright reasons), this can be associated with emotions of

- positive or negative surprise;
- annoyance/exasperation, panic, disgust;
- pleasure/happiness, admiration.

There are also other, more bleached meanings where *oh my god* indicates involvement or emotionality, or marks a sudden realisation. This means that the meaning of interjections becomes clear only by looking at the context and gesture/facial expression/tone of voice etc. Counting emotive interjections will thus only tell us about emotionality/involvement but not about the particular emotions involved. Nevertheless, a corpus analysis does show a number of interesting things, which I will only briefly summarize here (for more detail see Bednarek 2008c):

1. In *Gilmore Girls* female characters use more exclamatory emotive interjections (1009 occurrences) than male characters (239 occurrences). This is in contrast to findings by Precht for spoken American conversation, where 'men's expletive frequencies were significantly higher than women's' (Precht 2006: 24). Since such interjections signal emotionality, the portrayal of men in *Gilmore Girls* mirrors the stereotypical conception of men as less 'emotional' than women at least with regard to emotive interjections.
2. If we compare speakers of individual interjections, some seem more 'male', others more 'female' (Figure 10.8).

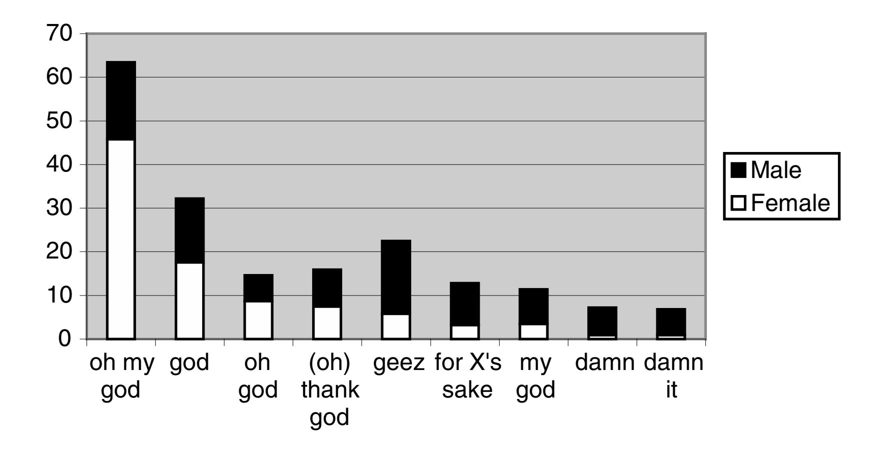


Figure 10.8 'Male' and 'female' interjections

Figure 10.8 suggests that *oh my god/god* is perhaps more female, whereas *geez, damn* and *damn it* (perhaps also *for X's sake/ my god*) are more male. This partially reflects Precht's (2006: 25) findings that *damn* is significantly higher in men and *god* significantly higher in women in American conversation.

3. Conversely, we can hypothesize that those female characters who do use the 'male' expletive interjections *geez, damn/damn it* and *hell* stand out,[15] or that the situation where they use these expletives is marked as particularly emotional. Compare the explicit description of a situation as markedly emotional in the following extract:

LORELAI [stunned]: Rory called.
LUKE: I know! She called and yelled at me.
LORELAI: No, she called and yelled at me!
LUKE: Yeah, but I'm the one who had to hear it, and she was loud! And she said – '**hell**'. I never heard her say '**hell**'. I didn't even know she knew how to say '**hell'**. [Flustered.] She was mad and she yelled and she said '**hell**'.

(*Gilmore Girls*, extract from series 6, episode 7, 'Twenty-one is the loneliest number')

Paris is one of the female characters who does use 'male' interjections; she has both *damn it* and *hell* among her three most preferred interjections, and it is part of her character that she is harsh, insensitive, undiplomatic and blunt. Her usage of expletives clearly contributes to this construal. Arguably, then, the character of Paris represents an attempt to oppose a particular kind of sedimentation of gender identity in popular culture (one, where women do not use 'strong' interjections/expletives) – however, the impact of this attempt depends on how she is evaluated by the audience. Ridinger-Dotterman argues that '[w]ithout ignoring the excess of her perfectionism, and certainly without failing to acknowledge her bitchiness, we begin to see Paris as more than just a villain and embrace her as a strong, albeit imperfect, woman' (Ridinger-Dotterman 2008: 62).

4. Similar characters are related by their usage and non-usage of interjections. In fact, for both Lorelai and Rory (mother–daughter) *oh my god* and *god* are preferred emotive interjections; both Luke and Jess (uncle-nephew) use *geez* most frequently; both Richard and Emily (husband–wife) like to use *for X's sake.* Richard and Emily hardly ever use interjections such as *geez* or *yuck,* which are too 'casual' (and perhaps 'young') for them. And Rory tends not to use stronger expletives, in line with her construal as slightly innocent and very studious (compare the 'hell' example above). In fact, a few characters have 'signature' interjections; i.e. they use certain interjections most frequently of all characters (taking into account turns), for example Emily likes *for X's sake.*

Summing up these findings, interjections are clearly part of *surge features* that work as *implicit cues* to characterization (Culpeper 2001: 190 and research cited there). These, Culpeper says, 'are frequently used by authors . . . as a conventional way of signalling that a character has a particular emotion or attitude' (Culpeper 2001: 192–3). As shown, they are part of the construal of interpersonal identities in the series and can be usefully investigated in a corpus stylistic analysis (on corpus stylistics see Wynne 2006; for stylistic research in SFL see Lukin and Webster 2005). It was beyond the scope of this chapter to offer an in-depth analysis of the data but see Bednarek (2008c, *forthcoming*) for an extended analysis and discussion. There is also more consideration needed of the way in which quantitative data can be interpreted in terms of higher-order kinds of organization such as identity, bonding and community, and of the kind of sophisticated statistical tests that are needed to (dis)prove hypotheses in this regard.

4 Conclusion

> *Work based on corpus studies has already begun to modify our thinking about lexis, about patterns in the vocabulary of languages; and it is now beginning to impact on our ideas about grammar. In my view, this impact is likely to be entirely beneficial. Corpus linguistics brings a powerful new resource into our theoretical investigations of language.*
>
> *(Halliday 2005b: 130)*

For SFL, studying text 'has always been a priority' (Butler 2004: 163), and even though 'true' corpus studies (as defined above) are still relatively rare (for an overview see Butler 2004),[16] recent years have seen an increasing interest in combining the two (e.g. Coffin and O'Halloran 2006, Thompson and Hunston 2006, Kaltenbacher 2007, Bednarek 2008d with respect to interpersonal meaning). As Halliday and Matthiessen (2004) note '[t]he corpus is fundamental to the enterprise of theorizing language' (Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 34), and it thus seems crucial to me that SFL continues to tackle methodological and theoretical challenges posed by CL, and takes up the perspectives the latter can offer. One step that is currently being undertaken is the creation of standardized SFL-annotated corpora (Teich et al. 2005) and SFL treebanks (Teich et al. 2006a), and a number of computational tools supporting SFL analysis are already available (see Teich et al. 2006b and Teich 2009). As I hope to have shown in this chapter, a corpus can provide an empirical background to a systemic-functional linguistic investigation of identity and interpersonal meaning, and can usefully complement the mostly small-scale studies of the previous chapters. However, it is noted that we need the other two strands of the three-pronged approach mentioned above (2.7) to get at issues such as logogenesis,

and, in particular, at how characters/people interact, because, crucially, 'identity is an intersubjective . . . matter' (Benwell and Stokoe 2006: 24).

Notes

* I'm grateful to Christian Matthiessen, Stella Neumann, Jim Martin, Elke Teich, Chris Butler and the contributors to this volume for bibliographical advice and useful comments on a previous version of this paper. Note that the references for corpus-linguistic and computational research in Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) listed in the reference list are not exhaustive but rather represent a selection of relevant research. The aim of this chapter is not to give an overview of all corpus linguistic/computational SFL research – see Butler (2004) and Bateman and O'Donnell (2007). Note 16 gives only a brief historic outline. One very recent publication, which had not been published by the time this chapter was written (and could therefore not be consulted) is Wu (2009).

1 I am currently working on pre-processing the corpus further, stripping it of speaker names, descriptions etc, creating sub-corpora and annotating parts of the corpora with discourse semantic information.

2 With respect to multimodality (Caple *this volume*, Knox et al. *this volume*, Zhao *this volume*) Baldry and Thibault (2006) stress the importance of using multimodal corpora in semiotic analysis while noting that their design is 'very much in its infancy' (Baldry and Thibault 2006: 181). For this reason the discussions in this chapter are restricted to mono-modal linguistic corpora. For SFL research on multimodal corpora see also Bartsch (2007), and the work done by John Bateman and his research group in Bremen (http://www.fb10.uni-bremen.de/anglistik/langpro/webspace/jb/info-pages/multi-root.htm, last accessed 22/9/08).

3 Steiner (2001) talks about certain kinds of analyses being more 'expensive' with respect to 'human labour' than others, and also notes that some hand-coded corpus analyses face problems relating to inter-coder reliability. Hansen-Schirra et al. (2007) note that 'operationalizations at the borderlines (i.e. those to do with genre and register) are often not sufficiently advanced to enable a reliable level of quantification' (Hansen-Schirra et al. 2007: 247). Bartsch et al. (2005) describe corpus annotation with respect to part-of-speech, syntactic structure, transitivity, rhetorical structure and generic structure, with only the first two being able to be carried out automatically. Teich (2009) similarly notes that while there are tools supporting manual SFL analysis, 'fully automated annotation with systemic functional categories is not possible at this stage'. Teich and Fankhauser (2005) observe that although there are many tools for lower strata, automated annotation is often not possible or tools exist only for some analyses on higher strata such as rhetorical structure or cohesion, and that 'there are many unresolved issues when it comes to processing corpora at the level of text'. These are problematic issues for desired corpus linguistic SFL studies of higher-stratum meanings.

4 In Martin and White (2005: 25) *reading* (subjectified meaning) is at the end of the cline of instantiation with the cline ranging from system to register to text type to text to reading. I have not represented this in Figures 10.2 and 10.3 above because the focus of this chapter is on text and corpora.

[5] Martin (2007) explores instantiation/individuation primarily in terms of intertextual relations (see also Matthiessen 1993 on intertextuality and semogenesis, and Steiner 2004 on intertextuality and translation) – the question of how texts are similar/different from each other seems for him to relate to realisation (Martin 2007: 283–4). However, I would argue that while we need to look at realisations to compare corpora, the comparison itself can tell us something about instantiation and individuation.

[6] Matthiessen (2007: 539) locates Hasan's work on codal variation on the cline of instantiation but he sees the system end of the cline of instantiation as representing Martin's 'reservoir of meaning' (Matthiessen 2007: 540) in a collective. Matthiessen (1993) and Neumann (2008) also consider individual texts with respect to instantiation rather than individuation, though Matthiessen (1993) notes that this needs to be 'modelled in terms of intersubjectivity' (Matthiessen 1993: 28). Plum and Cowling (1987) note the necessity of researching the interesting question of 'variation between individuals' (1987: 295–6). Future research on the cline of individuation should also link to research on ontogenesis (see Matthiessen 2007: 516–20 for an overview of SFL research).

[7] *Semogenesis* (logoenesis, ontogenesis, phylogenesis) is usually used to refer to *expansion* of resources of meaning (Nesbitt and Plum 1988: 23) or to the *process* of meaning making (Zhao *this volume*) – I use these terms in this chapter more broadly with respect to meaning *change* (not necessarily only 'added', 'new' meanings). Of course, many linguists outside SFL work on ontogenesis (e.g. child language acquisition) and phylogenesis (historical linguistics) and use corpora such as CHILDES (http://childes.psy.cmu.edu/data/) and the Helsinki corpus (http://icame.uib.no/newcd.htm).

[8] An 'instantial system', as Matthiessen (1993) has called it; see Matthiessen (1993, 2002) for an overview of SFL research on instantial systems and logogenesis such as Michael Gregory's 1980s work on phases, and an extended discussion of relations between logo-, phylo- and ontogenesis; see Bartsch et al. (2005) for corpus annotation of discourse and generic structure.

[9] However, there are *Gilmore Girls* related websites, books and other 'fan' discourses which might open up the system. See e.g. Smith-Rowsey (2008) on *Gilmore Girls* fanfic and discussion sites.

[10] Additionally, there may be differences in impact depending on who says what to whom how in what context, and mental factors such as 'cognitive biases' (Baker 2006: 11) are also involved in discourse production and reception.

[11] 'Bonding icons are emblems or powerfully evocative symbols of social belonging which have a strong potential for rallying. In response to their solidarity function, people can and do rally around these icons. In fact, they instantiate a community and materialise Bonding through the fusion of interpersonal and ideational meanings' (Stenglin 2004: 406).

[12] The concept of bonding has more recently been elaborated by Knight (2008, *this volume*) in theorizing affiliation, but in this chapter I am still following Stenglin's original conception of bonding as theorized in Stenglin (2004) and as taken up by Caple (*this volume*). Note that Knight (*this volume*) uses terms such as 'bonds' and 'bonding' etc. in a very technical sense which may differ to the way these terms are used in this chapter.

[13] We could relate this to the different systems Matthiessen (2007: 545–7) mentions: physical systems, biological systems, social systems and semiotic systems. So can bonding occur through sharing (parts of) all of these systems? Certainly, social and semiotic systems seem to carry more weight in terms of bonding than physical and biological systems, but racist ideologies, for instance, do rely on biological features. And arguably, we can bond just through 'doing' things together.

[14] Cohen (1985) emphasizes the symbolic and subjective nature of community. Anderson (1983) defines the nation as 'an imaged political community' (Anderson 1983: 6), and discusses the origin of nationalism (see also Tann *this volume*).

[15] The hypothesis that females who use male-oriented expletives stand out in general would need to be tested through audience studies.

[16] Halliday, of course, has always been interested in quantitative studies (e.g. Halliday 2005a, b, c; Halliday and James 2005), starting with his analyses of Chinese and English grammar in the 1950s and 60s using very small samples and manual counting (Halliday 2005a: 64; 2005b: 132–5). A particular interest is in the probabilistic modelling of language where feature choices in networks become weighted (i.e. probabilities are assigned to grammatical choices), representing the frequency with which they occur in text. The establishment of a 'probability profile of any grammatical system' (Halliday 2005a: 67) can be undertaken for the overall language system ('global probabilities') or different registers ('locally conditioned probabilities') (Halliday 2005a: 70), with register variation 'defined as systematic variation in probabilities' (Halliday 2005a: 66). For an overview of the history of Halliday's interest in probabilistic grammar see in particular Halliday (2005b). Other 'classic' uses of quantitative methodologies (sometimes not using corpora in the strict sense defined above) in SFL include Plum and Cowling (1987) using (non-representative, elicited) interview data to study probabilistic variation of tense and recursion depending on contextual features such as class, age, gender; Halliday and James (2005, originally 1993) use an 18 million word sub-corpus of the Bank of English to investigate polarity and primary tense; Nesbitt and Plum (1988) use 123 narratives elicited from sociolinguistic interviews to analyse clause complex relations with respect to probabilistic realisation and context.

Butler (2004) summarizes the use of texts in SFL as follows: (1) use of limited number of texts, (2) use of archives (e.g. Matthiessen 2006), (3) large-scale corpus studies (e.g. Tucker's and Butler's research). He notes that 'relatively few studies so far have used computerised searches of large bodies of text' (Butler 2004: 166) and points to some potential reasons for this neglect. Halliday and Matthiessen (2004) also point out that '[c]omputerized parsing and pattern-matching is now reaching the point where quantitative studies can be undertaken of a number of primary systems in the grammar, using samples large enough to permit comparison among different registers . . . Not enough work has yet been undertaken along these lines for us to build it in to the total picture; but it is a high priority field for future research' (Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 35). For an early 'corpus linguistic' approach see Fries (2008); for work on instantiation and translation/register variation compare also the work done in Saarbrücken (e.g. Steiner 2001, 2004, 2008 Neumann *forthcoming*) and Darmstadt (see e.g. references listed at http://www.linglit.tu-darmstadt.de/index.php?id=1168#c2271 or Holtz 2007). There is also a tradition of research applications of SFL in NLP and Linguistic Computing

(e.g. Teich 1999, Teich 2009, and references therein), including appraisal (e.g. Taboada and Grieve 2004, Bloom et al. 2007).

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Index